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NATIONAL REVIEW

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September 25, 1962

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

Liberal Republicans Look to '64

GEORGE F. HOBART

Why Freedom

FRANK S. MEYER

Has Cuba Defeated Us?

AN EDITORIAL

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . HENRY HAZLITT
JAMES BURNHAM · SIR ARNOLD LUNN · RUSSELL KIRK
NATHANIEL WEYL · ARLENE CROCE · RALPH DE TOLEDANO

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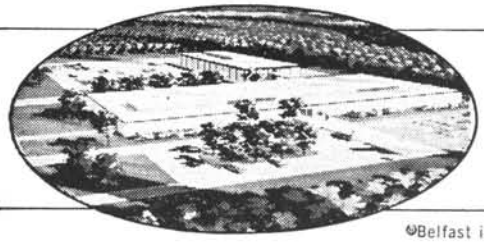

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔ **"George Hobart"** reviews recent machinations within the Republican Party and relates them to the endless concern by the Liberals within the party to take control. The objective is of course 1964. . . . **Frank Meyer** delivers a pointed rejoinder to Brent Bozell's "Freedom or Virtue?", maintaining that it is implicit in conservative theory that the two are one, and that an apprehension of their unity is essential to any progress in the theory of conservatism. Frank Meyer's book, *In Defense of Freedom,* will be published in October. . . . **Ralph de Toledano** writes from Washington and reveals what the President told the congressional leaders about the real situation inside Cuba; and tells of their astonishment at the President's apparent helplessness. . . . **James Burnham** applies the classic political formula, He who says A must say B, to the situation in Berlin, Cuba, and Laos. . . . **Russell Kirk** examines some of the consequences of taking literally the Supreme Court anti-prayer decision, and adds a secularist version of "Now I Lay Me Down to Sleep."

➔ **Henry Hazlitt** writes about the enormous and exciting new treatise on free market economics by Murray Rothbard. It is a magnum opus, scheduled to occupy a place in the economic landscape alongside Mises' *Human Action.* Its shortcomings are purely eccentric, resulting from Mr. Rothbard's endearing "extreme apriorism." As a work of economic theory it is formidable and definitive. Mr. Hazlitt, by the way, is in Europe attending the annual meeting of the Mont Pelerin Society, a group of the world's leading free-market economists and journalists. . . . **Nathaniel Weyl** discusses a book by Professor Herbert Packer on the performance and character of four important witnesses to the Soviet conspiracy. Mr. Weyl was once himself involved in that conspiracy—he knew Alger Hiss inside a Communist cell—and writes profoundly and authoritatively on the subject. . . . Sir **Arnold Lunn** reviews the new edition of the "biography" of Thomas Hardy, which turns out to have been written by Hardy himself. . . . And **Arlene Croce** of NATIONAL REVIEW's staff reports (favorably) on Howard Hawks' latest film, on Brightest Africa.

➔ We regret deeply to pass on the sad news that Mr. **C. D. Batchelor,** our Pulitzer Prize-winning cartoonist, has been ordered by his doctor to slow down after a mild heart attack. He will of course be back. And the villains and heroes of his elegant drawings will, unquestionably, wait for him, without changing their character. . . . **John Kreuttner,** you will have noticed, is back and in superb form. He has recently been around the world, carrying a trunkful of (duty-free) data on the mischief of American foreign policymakers on the scene. . . . And a typical poem from **William von Dreele,** expressing his non-surprise at the State Department's surprise at the surprise announcement by the Chinese Communists.

➔ Next week **Evelyn Waugh,** *inter alia.* ➔

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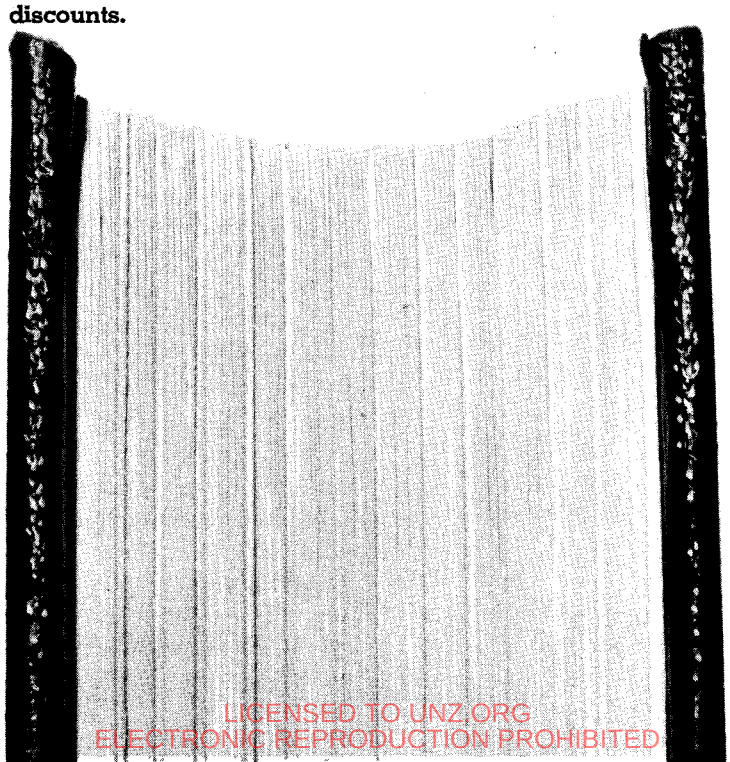

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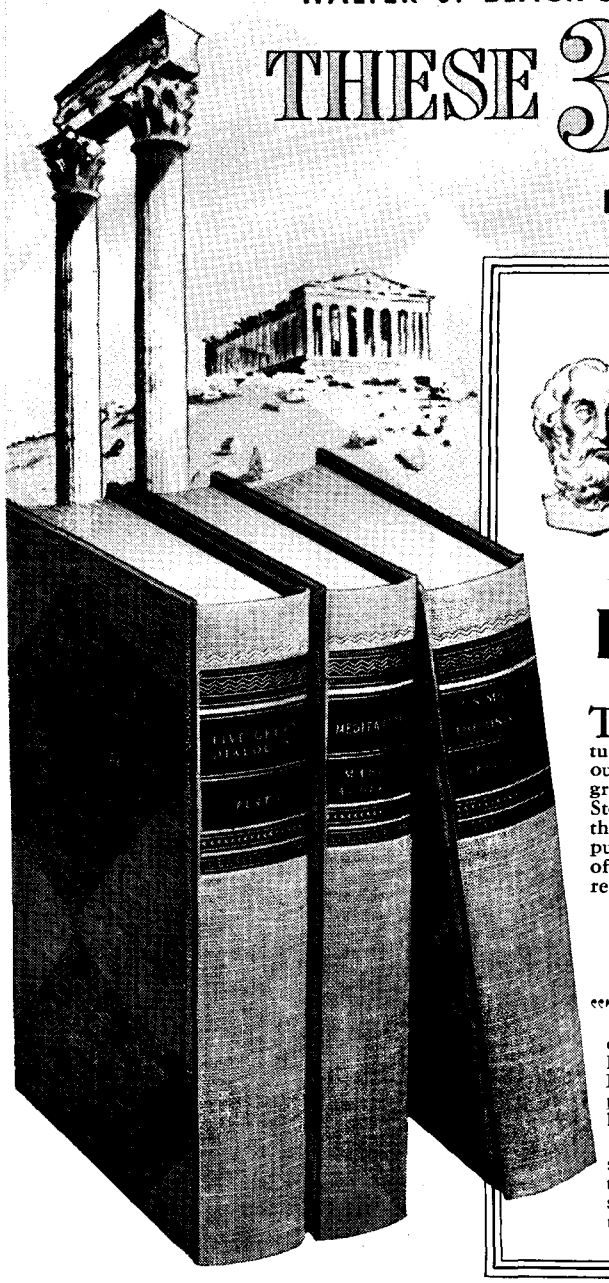

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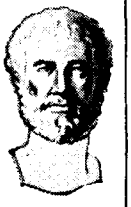

"THE master of them that know," this supreme mind of the fabulous Golden Age of Greece was called by the poet Dante. He was so far ahead of his era that his ideas are astonishingly timely today. Nature, politics, art, drama, logic, morals — he explored them all, with a mind open to truth and a heart eager for understanding.

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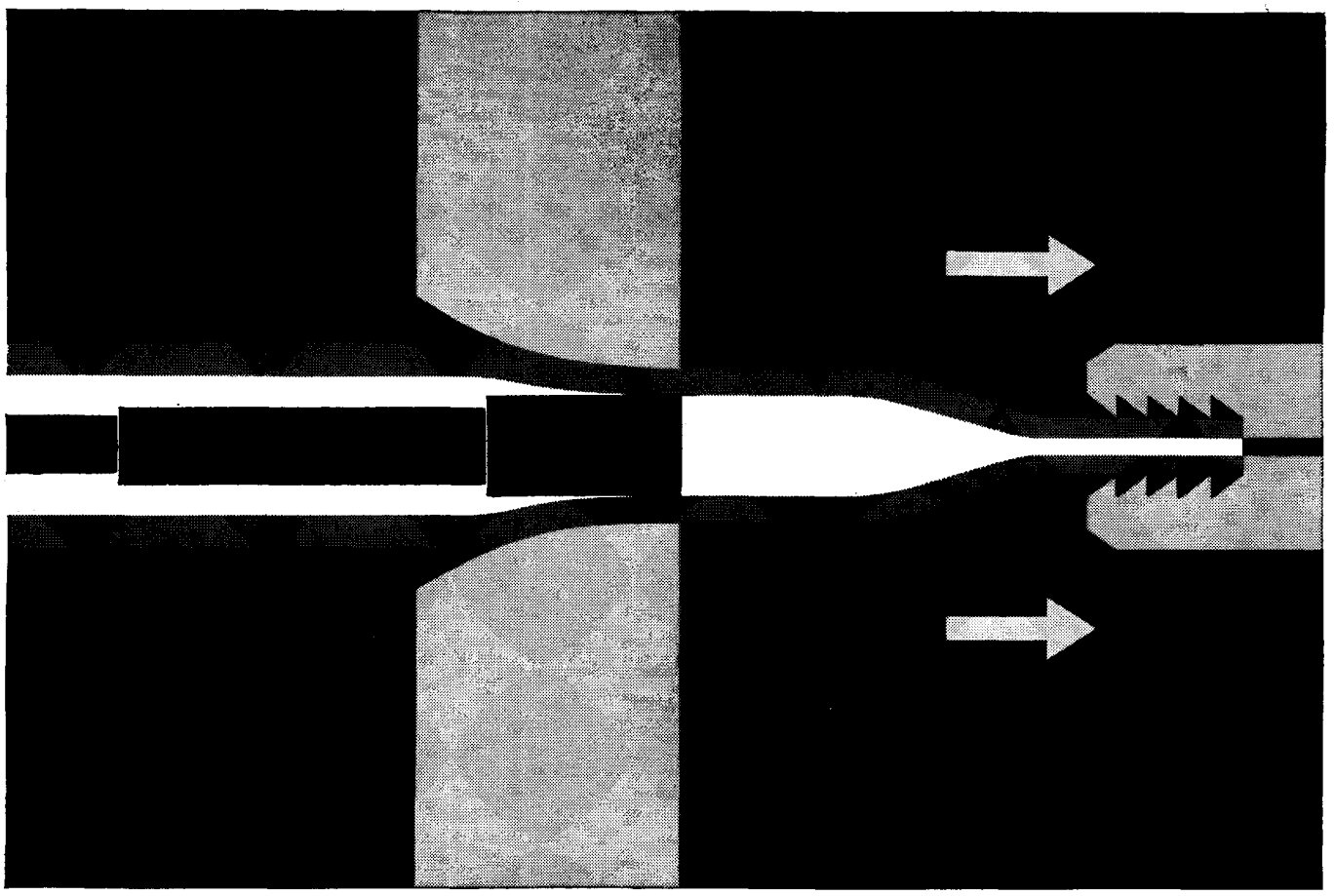

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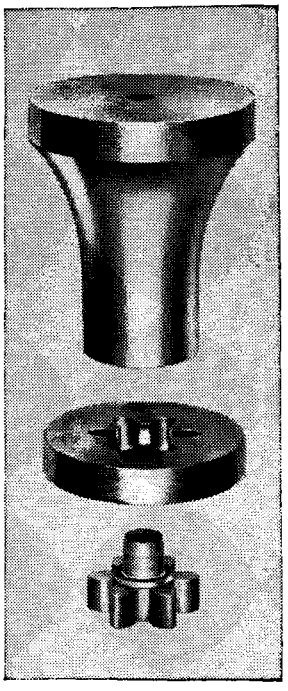

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The WEEK

● *The Monroevski Doctrine:* "We declare that we should consider any attempt on [the part of the Western Hemisphere powers] to extend their system to any portion of the Soviet Empire as dangerous to our peace and safety. . . . It is . . . impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference."—N. Khrushchev, Sept. 11, 1962.

● In an interview of young Americans returning from the Helsinki Youth Festival, the *Worker* (Sept. 11, 1962) reports this interesting reaction to the "anti-Fascist Wall" as they call it. "A girl from the West Coast said: 'On the plane coming home they had a copy of *Time* magazine with a picture of the Berlin Wall with a hand coming over it—a real eerie picture. We had a big laugh at the cover.' "

● The New York City press, concentrating on the Republican primary defeats of conservatives Dooley (*v.* Ogden Reid) and Devine (*v.* Kupferman), has managed to imply that the New York Republican machine of Rockefeller-Javits is gearing up for great things. Actually, the two defeats were in reality strong demonstrations: Dooley got 46 per cent of the vote, Devine 39 per cent. And in upstate New York the Republican machine crumbled. In Binghamton, Elmira, Hudson, Olean, and elsewhere, conservative Republicans handed the Rockefeller machine defeat after defeat, in some cases swamping the GOP regular candidates, in others overturning the GOP machine for the first time in sixteen years. The same resurgence of conservative strength is felt within the Conservative Party of New York, which reports its petition campaign climbing over the minimum requirement and heading toward a final tally of more than 30,000 (the law requires 12,000). There are now 140 Conservative Clubs in New York State; the campaign will commence immediately after the petition drive has ended; and there are unmistakable signs that the Liberal Republicans are feeling the heat.

● The Liberal press is attempting to make it appear that the victory by Ev Mecham over Steve Shadegg in the Arizona primaries was a slap at Barry Goldwater (an old friend of Shadegg). An extremely knowledgeable observer of Arizona politics disagrees. Both men, he says, would have constructed a Goldwaterish voting record; both are conservatives through and through. They differ in their capacity for intellectually precise formulations, and in their mode of projecting that supremely important non-fact in current politics, an "image." In all probability the choice between them was moot, from the standpoint of the national good: a matter of taste, personality, style, pace, visage. Let's get Mecham into office, and then (as Al Smith never tired of hearing us say), let's look at the record.

● Items of interest from letters of Kenneth Snow, NATIONAL REVIEW's roving correspondent in Latin America, now spending a few weeks in Brazil prior to the crucial October 7 congressional elections:
Item: The fate of Brazil may be decided in the next 35 days. They will certainly tell whether President João Goulart, anti-American and pro-Castro Leftist, will be able to force through a plebiscite to restore the presidential system of government which was abandoned after President Quadros resigned in favor of a parliamentary system. (This was the only condition under which the military would accept Goulart's accession to power.)
Item: Goulart's brother-in-law (and *éminence rouge*), Léonel Brizola, is basing his congressional campaign on violent anti-American diatribes. On a Sept. 1 TV program, for instance, he demanded that the U. S. Embassy in Brazil be closed and Ambassador Lincoln Gordon murdered.
Item: Sources close to the government say Goulart is putting Brizola up to these anti-American antics as not-so-subtle protest against decision by U. S. authorities to channel aid through anti-Communist Governor Carlos Lacerda of Guanabara State (in which Rio is located) rather than through Goulart.
Item: The government has managed to censure a number of TV speeches by Lacerda, but he continues to figure as the most vocal and courageous anti-Communist in public life.
Item: According to a Brazilian general, "tons" of arms and ammunition from Cuba have been intercepted by Brazilian military authorities. The arms were being landed by small boat all along the northern coast of Brazil, but so many cargoes have been seized that there has been a drop in shipments in recent weeks.

● President Kennedy's request to Congress for standby authorization to call up 150,000 reservists during the approaching congressional recess got the big headlines he expected in the domestic press but not much attention in the world's chancelleries. Informed diplomats, East to West, know that the President already possesses the legal power to mobilize any or all active reservists merely by declaring that an emergency requires it. Having observed, moreover, that Mr. Kennedy did not exploit for any serious international purpose the last reserve callup, now dragging to its dreary end, they discount the new demand as merely one more attempt by this

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most verbalized of regimes to solve its problems by words instead of deeds.

● The UN, in its craze to impose former Belgian boundaries on the multitudinous tribes of the Congo, has taken up arms against Moise Tshombe of Katanga as if there were no other quarter seeking relief from the madness in Léopoldville. But in the past week Albert Kalonji, chief Baluba of South Kasai, has escaped from a Léopoldville prison and found refuge among his tribesmen, who are reported ready to defend him, and in him the symbol of their autonomy, with arms. And Jean Miruho, president of Kivu Province, has been jailed by Léopoldville for having insisted that his government have a say in the political arrangements affecting his province. Despite the overwhelming evidence that the Congo as a political entity doesn't exist, the UN continues in its delusion and brandishes its weapons—at the only Congolese leader who sides with the West.

● For some weeks the House Committee on Foreign Affairs under the acting chairmanship of Rep. John Monagan has been holding hearings on the European Captive Nations. The Committee is surveying current social, economic and political points of view within the satellite nations. Expert testimony has been heard from Stanislaw Mikolayczyk, the former Prime Minister of Poland, and Ferenc Nagy, the former Premier of Hungary, among many others, as well as from an official of the Voice of America. Thus far, excepting several Connecticut newspapers, not a word about the proceedings has appeared in the nation's press, nor has anything about them been broadcast by the Voice of America, the purpose of which is to inform Iron Curtain countries of the United States' continuing interest in them.

SURPRISE!

United States officials said they would be "absolutely amazed" if Communist China exploded an atomic device October 1.

—Special to the *New York Times*

When Castro and the Russians got together,
You could have knocked them over with a feather.
With Goa gone, and Nehru on the make,
The Secretary did a double-take.
(When Nasser and the Arab League went bust,
They say the whole *Department* was non-plussed.)
Nor do they understand the reason why
The Dutch regard us with a jaundiced eye.
The morning Foggy Bottom's vaporized,
Depend upon it: State will be "surprised."

W. H. VON DREELE

For the Record

White House quietly canvassing Capitol Hill to determine attitudes toward government seizure of the railroads should crippling strike occur early next year. . . . The reason there's been no open State Department protest over repeated violations of Laos "neutrality" status is fear of voter reaction on top of Berlin, Cuba crises. . . . Europe buzzes with rumor that Moscow will trade two-year moratorium on Berlin issue for U.S. evacuation of Guantanamo. . . . August 15 was the day the U.S. Government debt surpassed the $300 billion mark.

East German government has struck new medal to honor border guards who distinguish themselves along the Wall. . . . The "vopos" already receive 75 marks for each would-be-refugee killed or wounded. . . . One demoralized French Foreign Legion contingent of 1,700 men, transferred from Algeria to Corsica, reports between 100 and 200 attempted desertions since early July. . . . Sign of economic paralysis in Algeria: Income from gas and electrical services in July 1961 was 2,150 million old francs; in July 1962, it was 600 million. . . . Ghanaian Assembly last week voted life term for Nkrumah; also legalized one-party government. . . . On August 29, dissident Egyptian army officers set up a National Government of Liberation in Damascus.

Observers back from Helsinki Youth Festival report shoddy U.S. exhibits at information booths there—second-rate beatnik poetry and modern art predominating. In contrast, they say, Switzerland publicized sanctuary she has offered Tibetan refugees. . . . Worker reports International Publishers bringing out new line of Marxist paperbacks to be called New World Books. . . . Organized campaign developing across nation to have J. Edgar Hoover's new A Study of Communism adopted as school textbook.

U.S. agricultural expert Lazar Volin, just back from USSR, estimates that half the milk and 80 per cent of the eggs produced in Soviet Union are raised on private plots.

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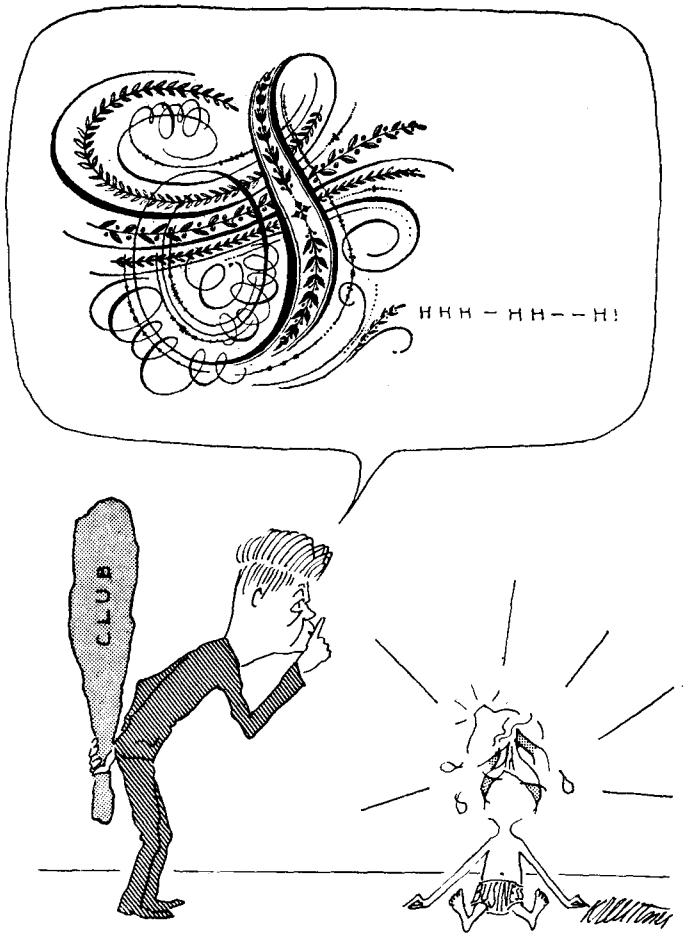

● What is one to say about a Robert Soblen? That he took American citizenship and betrayed America? That he ran out on those who trusted him and put up his bail? That in his wild flight from justice he embittered relations among the United States, Great Britain and Israel—three nations whose systems of government required them to deal with Dr. Soblen as a civilized man? It is probably enough to say that when he breathed his last in the Hillingdon Hospital last Tuesday, the reaction was relief rather than sorrow—on both sides of the Curtain, as the Kremlin has no further use for its unmasked spies.

● The opening gong of the nation's schools returned millions of students to classrooms that face imminent secularization. There are still some hardy optimists who believe that the Supreme Court's decision against the New York school prayer is capable of narrow construction. Their hopefulness may be dashed when the Court hears the appeal this term of *Chamberlin* v. *Dade County Board of Public Instruction*, a Florida case. The secularists' attorney is again Leo Pfeffer, of the American Jewish Congress, whose notions were upheld in the prayer decision. Mr. Pfeffer has the distinction of being one Liberal who is too much for *America* magazine. He is crusading now against all the religious vestiges that remain in the schools. The issues in the *Chamberlin* case include reading the Bible in classrooms (without sectarian comment), asking pupils their religious affiliation, and including religious invocations in baccalaureates.

● After repeated statements that the Russians are away ahead of us in the Space Race, the Administration suddenly announced that the Russians had failed in at least five efforts to launch an interplanetary probe, while the American *Mariner* is on course after a brilliant correcting operation made in outer space. It was as if the Dodgers had lost five doubleheaders in a row to the Mets. This heady report whets the appetite for more news of Russian failures. Why does the Administration not expose to the world the myth of Russian invincibility? Is silence necessary in order to protect our intelligence methods? Do the authorities perhaps believe that stockholders of a presumed last-place club will be more willing to ladle out vast sums of money on untried fireballs? Or do they fear that publicity given his failures will rile the gentle Khrushchev?

● A friend relates that Kennedy called in a group of businessmen the other day. Quoth the prez, "I don't see what all you boys are grumbling about. Profits are high, business is good, unemployment is low. As a matter of fact things are so good that if I didn't happen to be President, I'd be down at the stock market right now doing a bit of buying." Responds one of the assembled, "So would I."

Has Cuba Defeated Us?

With Cuba's incorporation in the Communist bloc —now officially acknowledged—and the transformation of this Caribbean island into a Communist military base, the policy of containment, rather sooner than even its sharpest critics guessed, reaches its inevitable end in a grotesque bankruptcy. There is no longer any question of containing Communist power at the bulging periphery of its Eurasian empire. Communist power has leapt right over half the earth to a beachhead inside our own immediate defensive perimeter. The problem now becomes—President Kennedy made the humiliating confession in his September 4 statement ("the Castro regime will not be allowed to export its aggressive purposes. . .")—*to contain Cuba!* The United States is now flat on its face, its limbs flailing the air, before a small, underdeveloped island run by a strutting, drunken bandit!

And the truth is that we cannot contain Cuba—now that it has become an active base of the world Communist enterprise—any more than we could contain the Soviet Union. Through Cuba, by all the

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mechanisms of Communist political warfare, Communist power will spread, will inevitably spread, elsewhere in the Caribbean, in Central and South America; is already spreading. At the same time, Cuba will be made into a serious direct military threat not only to the lesser nations of the Americas but to the United States itself. Why should Khrushchev deprive himself of the incomparable lever of missile pads ninety miles off the U.S. mainland?

Has Cuba defeated us?

Yes—granted a continuation of our passive and negative policy, of a policy of containment in any form, the policy of Kennan, or of Rostow, or of their successors. Ludicrous as it may seem, the answer has got to be yes.

If our nation is to survive, the Castro-Khrushchev regime in Cuba has got to go. A lot more will have to go also; but Cuba comes first: before Berlin or Laos, or Moscow.

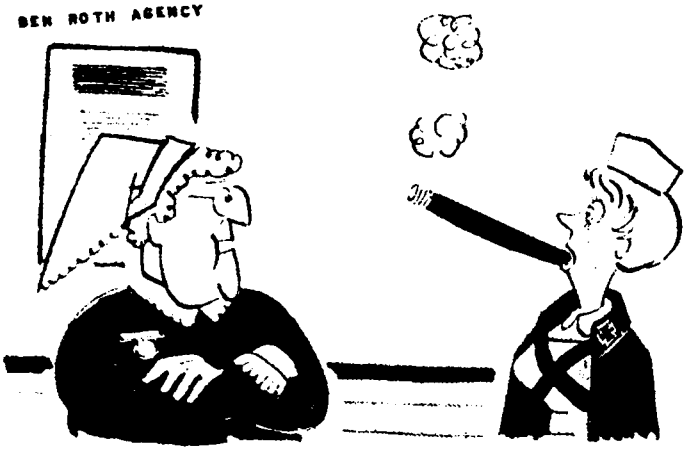
Every day the road back will be harder; thus every day decision will become more difficult. It is the decision, the decision that fixes the goal, that is all-important. Can John F. Kennedy make that sort of decision? Maybe not; he has never yet done so on any major international issue; there may be an organic defect of will. But the decision is up to him now; and perhaps his fellow-citizens can help him make it, if he cannot do so unaided.

It is not a matter of tactical details. Those are for the experts, trained for such matters. There is no longer any point in big public disputes over this or that kind of boycott, exile grouping, Organization of American States backing, or what not. Of course we will endeavor to keep casualties, Cuban and non-Cuban, to a minimum, and to win a maximum co-operation from Latin American nations and our NATO allies. Of course the leaders of Congress will be consulted, and a Declaration of War asked if that becomes constitutionally relevant. But all that, for the present, is secondary. And of course Khrushchev's bluster about possible nuclear war over Cuba is not to be taken seriously. Khrushchev is not going to destroy Moscow to save Havana.

What is required now is a single command from the Commander-in-Chief.

To the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

You will bring about the overthrow of the Communist regime in Cuba within six months from this date.



Waite *London Daily Sketch*

"I don't care whom you've been nursing."

Are You Being Sued by Linus Pauling?

We are (or so his lawyer tells us). And so are other well-behaved papers and people throughout the country. Professor Pauling, whose litigious goose-pimples appear, judging from newspaper accounts, to coincide with last June's three and one-half million dollar judgment against AWARE *et al.* in favor of the plaintiff Faulk, seems to be spending his time equally between pressing for a collaborationist foreign policy, and assailing those who oppose his views and who question whether this country can simultaneously follow Dr. Pauling's recommendations and remain outside the Communist orbit. Dr. Pauling, for instance, threatened to sue *This Week* magazine because it had run an article calling Dr. Pauling a unilateralist. I am no such thing, Dr. Pauling shot back, brandishing his lawyers. *This Week* published his letter, together with a half-hearted apology by Dr. Muller, who had made the original charge, pointing out that if Dr. Pauling was not a unilateralist, he certainly confused people by picketing the White House when the U. S. resumed nuclear testing in direct consequence of the Soviets' having done so.

As we understand the term, a "unilateralist" is anyone who believes that one side should take whatever step is currently in question in the direction of a) disarming, or b) declining to augment, or refine, its arsenal, whether or not the other side takes the complementary step. If we follow him correctly, Dr. Pauling wants both the U.S. and the Soviet Union to stop testing nuclear weapons; but he would favor the U.S.'s stopping even if the Soviet Union did not. From which it follows, according to our definition (which is, we assume, generally accepted), that he is a unilateralist.

Dr. Pauling is chasing after all kinds of people, even the formidable Sam Newhouse, owner of twenty-odd daily newspapers. His victory signal is the check or two he has wrested from publishers—who may indeed have libeled him, in which case they should pay up; but who may simply have been too pusillanimous to fight back against what some will view as brazen attempts at intimidation of the free press by one of the nation's leading fellow-travelers.

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NEXT ISSUE:

British Guiana Revisited
by Evelyn Waugh

The Spendthrift Pentagon
by Ralph de Toledano

Adam Powell Contemplating the Bust of Venus

Last week it transpired that the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr., having developed an irrepressible curiosity to explore the rights of women in Europe, had gone abroad early last August. European women are, one gathers, second-class citizens without benefit of an NAACP. Now, no man who is a man would venture to explore the rights of women without expert feminine help. Accordingly, the Reverend Powell set off for Europe with his secretary and his receptionist, the runner-up in a recent Miss Universe contest, the winner (a white supremacist) being unavailable. Meanwhile, Mrs. Powell the Third held down the home fort in her native Puerto Rico, where she is busy answering the mail of Mr. Powell's correspondents, among the busiest of whom are the officials of the Internal Revenue Service; a job for which Mrs. Powell is paid twelve thousand dollars per year by little old us, the taxpayers. Mr. Powell did not want to be distracted from his European pursuits by vulgar problems of finance, and accordingly instructed the State Department to instruct officials all over Europe to put at his disposal American counterpart funds; and to make arrangements for a little cruise on the Aegean Sea, to give him a little classical perspective on the transhistorical travail of suffering womanhood.

Enough?

Enough. Roared the *New York Times*: "The reckless, irresponsible conduct of Mr. Powell is a disgrace to the people of his district, to the United States Congress, and to the Kennedy Administration, which to its discredit sent Secretaries Ribicoff and Goldberg to New York last year to do the honors at a Powell glorification dinner. We say it is time for the people of Harlem to wake up, quit making a hero out of this man who holds in such contempt his obligations in public office, and retire him from Congress . . ."

That day, Congressman Powell cut short his trip, and flew to Puerto Rico, to his ever-loving, ever-patient wife.

L'union, Pourquoi?

If Charles de Gaulle has become a megalomaniac, as not a few of his admirers as well as his enemies believe, it must be admitted that he has some reason to be. Who will deny that in the France of the Fifth Republic, *l'état, c'est lui?* Just as de Gaulle alone in June 1940 asserted France's will to total victory, so only de Gaulle could have led France to end the Algerian war by accepting total defeat. And who but de Gaulle could have stood at a German chancellor's side to review Franco-German battalions marching through a cemetery of Frenchmen killed by Germans; could have proclaimed *Deutsch-Franzosische Freundschaft* as the theme of his spectacular procession through Germany itself; could have summoned France and Germany to "solidarity," to "organic cooperation between our armies" and "a union of our two countries"? How, then, does de Gaulle answer the question that he posed in Bonn: *l'union, pourquoi?* why union?

In one perspective, surely not the least important, the vision of those two incredible ancients, Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer, calling their countrymen to reconciliation after all the ancestral blood and bitterness is so splendid that it seems a petty cynicism to suggest a further, colder look. If Frenchmen and Germans can forget the mountains of dead, the ruined cities, the hatreds of the past, then surely, it would almost seem, the West has reached the greener shore. And this is good, this *Deutsch-Franzosische Freundschaft* that de Gaulle and Adenauer now pledge: good intrinsically, and a happy omen, no matter what qualifications must be added. If Frenchmen and Germans can be truly friends, then almost all things are possible.

But de Gaulle is not a sentimentalist in the togetherness mode. What he publicly says or does always expresses the great lines of policy and strategy that govern his mind and will. He now calls for Franco-German friendship not because he loves Germans, but because close cooperation between France and Germany is indispensable, is indeed the first premise, of his grand design. This design was traced in NATIONAL REVIEW (June 19) by Jacques Soustelle, and all that de Gaulle was reported to have said in Germany confirmed Soustelle's analysis.

De Gaulle suggested, in Hamburg, that "France and Germany will all the better assure themselves of the means of power if they join their possibilities and associate their resources." The commentators understood that he was by these words asking Germany, prohibited by treaty from making nuclear arms, to furnish financial and technical help for building France's nuclear arsenal. De Gaulle relies, as Soustelle phrased it, "on this purely French striking force to realize his aim of European hege-

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mony, based on a Franco-German 'binominal equation' in which only France would dispose of the decisive weapon."

Throughout his five-day visit, de Gaulle's words turned inward toward "little Europe," never to the peripheral nations of the Continent, to Britain or the Atlantic or the Americas. Prime Minister Macmillan was given no word of warmth or welcome by which to quiet the fears of the assembling Commonwealth ministers.

Europe—de Gaulle's Franco-German-based Europe—must become, de Gaulle told his German hosts, in its own right "a dike of power and prosperity of the same sort that the United States constitutes [and the Soviet Union]." Gaullist Europe must be "able to play her own game" (again in Soustelle's words) in relation to "the two giants." Then, from "a single, unified Franco-German policy," peace and prosperity will come about. In Germany, at a banquet in the great castle near Bruehl, de Gaulle repeated once more his studied phrase—*"from the Atlantic to the Urals."*

Gaullist Europe is thus to be, stripping the Gaullist rhetoric, no more nor less than neutralist Europe.

Report from NSA Meeting

"The 15th annual congress of the National Student Association drew to a close having camped 'somewhat left of center.' But the notable news from this congress is not its leftist orientation, which is habitual, but rather the very considerable conservative gains. Last year in Madison, Wis., a somewhat noisy invasion of conservative students succeeded only in hardening the opposition. This year a temperate approach worked miracles.

"The conservative bloc vote swelled from 12 (last year) to 128. The 'Conservative Enquirer,' a daily newsletter, presented its point of view responsibly and was well received. A 'Conservative Conference' forum discussion was held each night with 250-300 students in attendance. A number of procedural reforms were pushed through (this being the area of primary conservative emphasis), including a disclaimer amendment which states that a school's membership in the NSA does not necessarily imply support of any given resolution (the National Executive Committee had been fond of announcing resolutions as though they had unanimous support). Minority statements are to be issued alongside resolutions, provided 25 per cent support has been obtained in committee. A system of Boards of Inquiry to investigate violations of academic freedom was so heartily debated down that it had to be tabled within the Executive Committee.

"Resolutions supporting Medicare, government control of Telstar, and the Second International Conference on Disarmament and Arms Control were almost laughed out of the congress, while two of three resolutions against testing were defeated and the third softened; an anti-Smith Act resolution was defeated in committee and a similar decree against the McCarran Act was killed in one committee only to be passed in another, which system of dual-committee voting was then prohibited and the anti-McCarran resolution changed from a mandate to a polite request. Finally and incredibly, five conservatives were seated on the NEC including a YAF officer. The conservatives even managed to pit Jacob Javits against the ADA. If this all isn't progress on the academic horizon, what is?"

E. E. Cummings, RIP

As in the case of so many artists, what first brought E. E. Cummings to public attention was a novel outward trait that over the years proved to have only minor inward meaning: the decapitalizations, especially of the first person singular pronoun and his own name. His oddities of punctuation, syntax and word-splitting were more serious, for through them he aimed at, and sometimes achieved, a kind of verbal analogue of the multi-dimensional simultaneity of certain paintings of Picasso and other twentieth-century artists—an effect which, curiously enough, Cummings never sought in his own rather straightforward paintings. Cummings' eccentricities, in life and in art, were never trivial because they were among the means that he found to define himself as a free individual in a society that makes this so difficult and continuous a task. Like William Faulkner, Cummings never succumbed to any of the political ideologies that periodically swept the intellectuals; and, though he knew and was known by everyone in literature and the arts, he stayed remarkably clear even of the changing literary cliques and fashions. He hated despotism and war—his splendid novel, *The Enormous Room,* written after his experience as ambulance driver and internee in World War I, was a breathtaking commentary on both—but he was not afraid of them. He was a true poet and a true man, and we honor his memory.

Notes and Asides

Memo to readers, friendly and unfriendly: A note to remind you that NATIONAL REVIEW is widely distributed on the newsstands, where you can pick up an extra copy to pass to a friend, or to give you the special satisfaction of burning *two.*

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From Washington Straight

What Goes, Mr. President?

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

The President has been very reassuring in his public statements on the Cuban crisis. But this is what he has told congressional leaders of both parties:

- The Communist bloc has sent 61 ships carrying troops and military hardware to Cuba.
- The regular Castro air force has been augmented by 59 MIG-17s. They may be armed with tactical nuclear weapons.
- Communist Cuba has nine launching pads operational and fifteen more under construction. They are designed to handle Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles with a range of some 1,700 miles. The President does not know whether or not Cuba has the IRBMs but admits that it is a possibility.
- The President has no plans for countering these aggressive acts of the Communist bloc. He confesses not to know whether they are in violation of the Monroe Doctrine.
- He frankly asked for advice from the congressional leaders and demonstrated utter bewilderment.
- He pleaded with Republican leaders not to rock the boat on the Cuban situation. And he proposed that 250,000 men be called back to active service *after Congress has adjourned.* The Republicans refused to go along with this proposal. They argued that a naval blockade would topple Castro and pointed out that there are two Marine divisions in the States and some 10,000 Marines at the Guantanamo naval base, all in a state of combat readiness.

The President's confession that he did not know what moves to take against Communist Cuba and the aggressive arms build-up was far more shocking to congressional leaders than his recital of military statistics. In point of fact, the President told only part of the story. Though Mr. Kennedy has soothingly stated to the public that the Castro forces have only rockets of 25-mile range—and that there are but 5,000 Soviet "technicians" on the island—more than one congressman has in his hands far better information.

It is known, for example, that Havana is ringed by Soviet, Chinese Communist, and Ghanaian troops, living in military bivouac. According to usually reliable Cuban exile sources, there are 8,000 Red Army troops, 6,000 Red Chinese soldiers, and 1,000 to 2,000 Ghanaian "regulars." There are unsubstantiated stories of bestialities committed by these Ghanaian troops on Cuban women.

In the face of this threat, it is difficult to understand the President's indecision. The consensus among legislators and military men is that a naval blockade must be imposed immediately to stop further shipments of troops and munitions and to force Fidel Castro to his knees. Cuba cannot feed itself—even without a blockade—and rationing has caused serious unrest. Food riots are suppressed, but only because the Cuban people seem convinced that they have been abandoned by the United States. The economy of Castroland has begun to collapse. A blockade would accelerate the process and lead to revolution.

The Administration, however, has so far resisted the idea of a naval blockade. It has also refused to give the Cuban exiles arms and the go-ahead signal to invade. Most of the exile leaders are on the Central Intelligence Agency payroll—and they know that starvation would be the consequence of defying CIA orders to stand pat.

In a city as prone to rumor as Washington, the President's failure to act—and his pleas to opposition leaders that they remain quiet—have increased speculation that the United States is secretly negotiating with Comrade Khrushchev. According to this speculation, the U.S. is offering substantial concessions in Berlin if the Communist bloc withdraws from Cuba. That such an agreement would be unenforceable — the Red troops would simply retire to the hills—seems not to have entered the minds of those presumably negotiating.

Cold War strategists point out that a successful invasion of Cuba by the United States would not only bring liberation to the island but hand the West an opportunity to embarrass the Communist bloc. For if the 14,000-to-15,000 Communist-bloc troops were placed in U.S. stockades and then publicly returned to Nikita Khrushchev, Mao Tse-tung & Co., it would mean a propaganda stroke of monster proportions for the West.

The Berlin situation only adds to the GOP's growing hesitation over using foreign policy as a campaign issue. Reports here in Washington indicate Khrushchev may well be preparing to take a tremendous gamble in the next couple of months when the nation is traditionally immobilized by its biennial pre-election paralysis.

A careful reading of the situation by experts suggests that Khrushchev is at long last going to sign that oft-threatened peace treaty with East Germany and then permit the East Germans to obstruct U.S. and allied movements into West Berlin. This could lead to fighting between the allied occupation forces and the East Germans while the Russians sit back and maneuver diplomatically. This is an approved Soviet tactic. In Korea it was the North Koreans and Chinese who were involved, not the Russians; in Indochina it was the North Vietnamese; in Castro-land it would be the Cubans and in Berlin the East Germans who would be on the other side, not the Red Army itself.

GOP congressional leaders think they have the answer to this problem but they are not prepared to voice it for fear of dividing the nation. The answer is not new: it was the Dulles policy. It calls for putting the Russians on notice that *any* East German military adventures would be regarded as Soviet in nature and would result in nuclear retaliation. This has worked before but the Republicans doubt the *Liberal Papers* types around the President will resort to such a frank statement of position. (World opinion would be shocked—but shocked.)

It looks now as if the fall elections, so eagerly awaited by the Republicans, may be relegated to sideshow status in the midst of the Cold War's greatest crisis.

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Why Freedom

The eloquent champion of unrestricted liberty as the first and fundamental plank of conservatism answers the provocative piece of Brent Bozell

FRANK S. MEYER

In reply to Brent Bozell's article, "Freedom or Virtue?" (Sept. 11), I should like first to plead innocent to his friendly indictment that I have "labored earnestly in recent years to promote and justify modern American conservatism as a 'fusion' of the libertarian and traditionalist points of view." Rather I (and others with whom I share a common outlook—he mentions Stanton Evans by name) have been attempting something very different from an ideological—and eclectic—effort to create a position abstractly "fusing" two other positions. What I have been attempting to do is to help articulate in theoretical and practical terms the instinctive consensus of the contemporary American conservative movement—a movement which is inspired by no ideological construct, but by devotion to the fundamental understanding of the men who made Western civilization and the American republic.

That consensus simultaneously accepts the existence of an objective moral and spiritual order, which places as man's end the pursuit of virtue, *and* the freedom of the individual person as a decisive necessity for a good political order. From the first of these principles it draws as corollaries its opposition to positivism, relativism, and materialism; from the second, it draws its demand for principled limitation of the power of the state, for the strictest guarantees that the power of the state will be foreclosed from interference in the moral and spiritual sphere, in the economic sphere, or with the liberties of individual persons—so long as they do not by force or fraud coerce others.

That this double allegiance to virtue and to freedom is the over-all consensus of contemporary American conservatism, the most cursory acquaintance with the conservative movement demonstrates. Mr. Bozell, I am sure, would agree that this is the actuality, no matter how much he may disapprove of it.

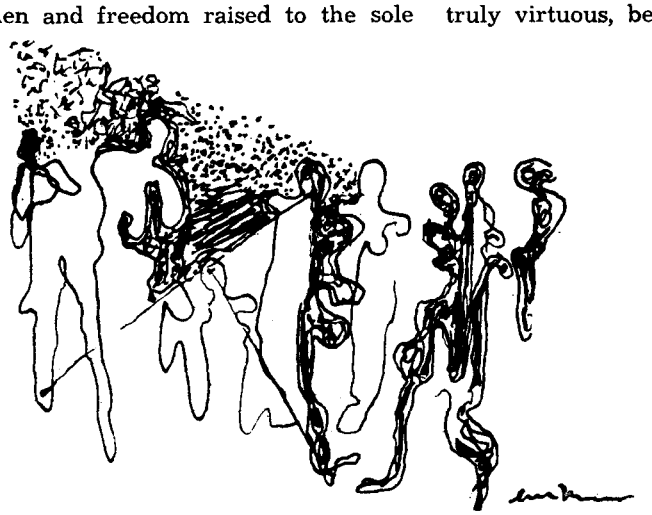
Every important publication of the movement exhibits the two motifs; so do the platforms of both conservative youth organizations, the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and the Young Americans for Freedom; and the most widely read conservative book of the century, *The Conscience of a Conservative,* is an epitome of that unity.

Traditionalist and Libertarian

If I have "labored" to demonstrate the potential congruity of the "traditionalist" and "libertarian" positions, it has not been because I was "attempting to promote . . . a fusion," but because I have thought that the rigid positions of doctrinaire traditionalists and doctrinaire libertarians were both distortions of the same fundamental tradition and could be reconciled and assimilated in the central consensus of American conservatism. It is only when virtue or freedom is wrenched out of the intrinsic interdependence in which they have existed in our tradition that ideological opposition arises.

I have recently dealt in these pages with some of the results that occur when virtue is denied as an end for men and freedom raised to the sole end of man's existence. In "The Twisted Tree of Liberty" (*NR,* Jan. 16), I tried to demonstrate that freedom, essential though it is as a condition for the virtuous life, is by itself without content or purpose if the existence of an objective moral order which men should strive to understand and move towards is not accepted. The results of such ideological abstraction of freedom from its functional foundation in the human condition are observable again and again as the pure libertarian develops his position—in the craven retreat before Communist tyranny of the pure libertarian of the nuclear pacifist breed, as in the arid subhuman image of man and the calculated cruelties of Ayn Rand.

If, on the other hand, freedom is denied as a necessary condition of a good political order, and the state is endowed with the right to enforce virtue upon individual persons, a parallel distortion occurs. Virtue, which is only virtue when freely chosen (this Mr. Bozell at bottom admits—as, being a Christian, he must admit), is made inaccessible to the coerced citizen, wherever and to the degree that the state compels his action. His actions may look like virtuous actions, but they are the actions of an automaton and cannot be truly virtuous, because being unfree to reject virtue, he is unfree to choose it. Even this assumes, however, that the men who hold the power of the state will use that power to enforce actions that are the simulacrum of virtue. But Lord Acton's insight still remains true, that there is in power a tendency to corrupt, and the more



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absolute the power, the more absolute the corruption. The experience of mankind has demonstrated this sad truth, however different may have been the philosophical foundations of those who held power that approached the absolute. Diocletian and Constantine, Inquisitionist and Cromwellian, Nazi and Communist—all have exhibited the corruption that power brings in its train. Each had a vision of how men ought to live and was determined to force that vision upon those subject to their will. If the state is endowed with the power to enforce virtue, the men who hold that power will enforce their own concepts as virtuous.

Theocracy

Such a state of affairs is the opposite pole—and as great a distortion—as the anarchistic worship of freedom as an absolute good without purpose or end. It is theocracy. That is, it is giving to some men the right and the power to enforce upon other men their own particular, limited and perforce distorted, finite view of the Infinite—of God's will. And this remains true whether their God is the pagan god of Diocletian, or the Christian God of Constantine, Philip II and Cromwell, or the *Volk* of the Nazis, or the dialectical materialist History of the Communists.

Mr. Bozell denies that his is a theocratic outlook, and indeed the positions he has taken in practice are far from theocratic, far from authoritarian. But the theoretical presuppositions put forward in *Freedom or Virtue?* nevertheless lead directly to theocracy. Whenever he wishes to justify his accord with practical measures conducive to freedom, he falls back upon the safeguards of "prudence." In *his* prudence I would have great confidence; but prudence is an art inherent in the men who exercise it. To hope that the men who exercise theocratic power will be prudent is a slender reed on which to base the defense of the freedom integrally necessary to a virtuous society.

For men imbued with the certainty of their vision of reality it will always be difficult to restrain the temptation to enforce that vision upon others and thus to deprive them of the right freely to choose the good. It is the glory of Western civilization, with its Christian understanding of the shimmering tension between freedom and virtue, that it has in its essence held firm to its insistence upon both—although to the doggedly rational mind, the paradox of virtue in freedom is as much "a folly to the Greeks and a scandal to the Jews" as the Incarnation itself, which is the ground from which the strength to hold this paradoxical belief proceeds.

Christian Humanism and Positive Virtue

Mr. Bozell attacks "humanism" as the sin which pervades the belief in freedom, but there is a humanism implicit in the glorification of man by the Incarnation. It is his rejection of the humanist element in the Western and Christian tradition that leads Mr. Bozell to his insistence upon the radical opposition of the good society to the free society. The humanist side of that tradition has always held in check the Puritanical and Jansenist drive towards a conception of man as a totally corrupt creature. Realizing his tendencies towards corruption, the balanced tradition of the West has seen him at the same time as a son of God, who by the aid of Grace and of the reason implanted in him possesses the highest of potentialities.

Therefore, it has conceived virtue not merely in the negative terms of subduing evil inclinations, but also in positive terms—in terms of achievement of potentialities which, although finite, are immeasurably great. Rejecting the Manichean disdain for the things of this world, it has considered the joy of created being as a high good. Its concept of virtue is positive, the performing of acts honorable, noble, valorous, glorious, generous. The free law of love is its highest command, not the meticulous performance of scheduled actions, the chalking up of gold stars and black marks in the records of a Divine Scorer.

Freedom, then, is a necessary political condition of a virtuous society, not only because the high likelihood is that the standards imposed by men with the power of the state would not in fact be virtuous standards; but also because, even if they were virtuous, to impose them upon individual persons would immensely reduce their ability to act virtuously at all and absolutely destroy their potentiality for active, creative, positive virtue.

Political Freedom

The key to the preservation of freedom is the limitation of the state. Political freedom can be defined as freedom from coercion in life, limb, liberty, or property, by force or fraud; it has nothing to do with the ideas, the persuasions, the customs which go into forming every human person. To refuse to see, as Mr. Bozell seems to do, the differences between coercive acts against the person and the civilizational influences which help to

ALICE IN SHANGRI-LAW

A Plagiary by SEAN MCDOE

"Today is not yesterday," the Walrus said with a smile.

"Whatever does *that* have to do with the case?" asked Alice.

"It is the overriding judicial doctrine," explained the Joker, "of the Fast Deal."

"What does 'judicial' mean?"

"When WE use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what we choose it to mean, neither more nor less."

Alice thought for a moment that bells began to peal, but it was really hundreds of little men chanting, in surprisingly deep voices: "And that is the Law of the Land, in the Land of Shangri-Law. . . ."

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form the person, is to deny the difference between the authoritarian imposition of human power and the persuasive authority of truth and good.

Furthermore, political freedom has no relation to the definition Mr. Bozell imposes upon the libertarian conservative, that is, "the freedom to participate in the making of public policy." This is emphatically *not* what is meant by political freedom. What is meant by political freedom is the limitation of the power of the state to the function of preserving a free order. It demands that the state be prohibited from positive actions affecting the lives of individual persons, except insofar as such action is necessary to prevent the freedom of some from being exercised to limit the freedom of others.

Political freedom emphatically has nothing to do with who governs or who chooses the governors, but only with the strict limitation of the powers of the governors, whoever they may be.

The contradiction which Mr. Bozell posits between "political freedom" and "economic freedom" is a contradiction created out of his own misunderstanding. The freedom of the economic sphere from state interference is but one aspect of the freedom of persons in other spheres of their life from state interference. It is not possible for men to "exercise their political freedom against their economic freedom," as Mr. Bozell maintains; it is only possible for an overweening state to exercise its power against men's free activities in the economic sphere. A free economy is a condition of political freedom because it is an aspect of political freedom—exactly as are freedom of persons in their daily lives, freedom of thought and press and speech, freedom of worship.

The Triple Functions of a Limited State

If the goal of a free political order is accepted, there is no mystery of the sort Mr. Bozell professes to find in the principle that the state should be limited to the triple functions of defense against foreign enemies, preservation of internal order, and the administration of justice between man and man.

In fact, the derivation of this proposition is really no mystery to Mr. Bozell, as he makes clear a few lines later. He knows that it can be derived when freedom *is* considered as a political end, and certainly he is right that it could never be derived when society is considered as an "organism," of which men are cells. But to clear up whatever "mystery" there may be, I shall here briefly summarize how it is derived when men are thought of as persons for whom political freedom is morally vital. (For a further and more exhaustive consideration, I refer him, and any other readers who may be interested, to my book, *In Defense of Freedom: A Conservative Credo,* which will be published next month.)

Briefly, then: 1) There is great danger to human freedom, and thereby to the achievement of virtue, if any more power than that which is absolutely necessary is lodged in the same set of hands. 2) The state *is* a necessity as an institution to preserve the freedom of men from infringement by other men through domestic or foreign force or fraud; and to settle the disputes that occur when rights clash with rights. 3) From this necessity are derived the legitimate powers of the state: defense, the preservation of domestic order, the administration of justice. 4) The exercise, however, of these necessary functions requires a dangerous concentration of power—the monopoly of legally and socially accepted force. Any additional control over individual persons in any sphere of their lives adds dangerously to this already dangerous concentration of power. 5) No other activities of men, except these three legitimate functions of the state, require the monopoly of force. All others can be performed by individual persons and voluntary associations of persons. 6) Since the power of the state is dangerous to begin with, and since all other functions beyond its essential three can be performed by men otherwise, the preservation of a truly free political order demands the limitation of the state to these functions.

To summarize: The principle that the political order must be a free order if men are to have the maximum possibilities of achieving virtue is, I maintain, inextricably linked, in the tradition of the West and the tradition of the American republic, with the principle that the goal of men is virtue. They are both essential principles of conservatism—which by definition is devoted to the preservation, maintenance, and extension of that tradition. Conservatism, therefore, unites the "traditionalist" emphasis upon virtue and the "libertarian" emphasis upon freedom. The denial of the claims of virtue leads not to conservatism, but to spiritual aridity and social anarchy; the denial of the claims of freedom leads not to conservatism, but to authoritarianism and theocracy.

When these attitudes are only emphases, differences of stress among conservatives, they can produce a fruitful and healthy dialogue. But neither the libertarian nor the traditionalist can totally deny the ends of the other without moving outside of the conservative dialogue and breaking continuity with the Western tradition. That tradition bears onward from generation to generation the understanding—rooted in the Christian vision of the nature and destiny of man—of the primary value, under God, of the individual person. From his nature arises his duty to virtue and his inalienable right to freedom as a condition of the pursuit of virtue.

Neither virtue nor freedom alone, but the ineluctable combination of virtue *and* freedom, is the sign and spirit of the West.

The West is in decay not, as Mr. Bozell asserts, because "the free society has come to take priority over the good society"; but because freedom has declined as virtue has declined. The recovery of the one demands the recovery of the other; the recovery of both is the mission of conservatism today. *Virtue in freedom*—this is the goal of our endeavor.

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The Third World War

Unfinished Business

JAMES BURNHAM

The front page of the August 18 issue of the West Berlin newspaper, *Bild Zeitung,* consisted of the photograph of the East German boy, Peter Fechter, dying at the foot of the Wall. The caption read: *Vopos let refugee bleed to death. Amis look on.* "Vopos" are the East German "people's police," or militia. "Amis" is German slang for "Americans."

Burnham

Of course, there was nothing else these individual soldiers could or should have done, except to stand passively watching the death agony of this unknown, unlucky boy. The impotence of those Amis was one more consequence of the defining impotence of their leader: from his failure to respond when, a year before, almost to the day, the Wall made its first probing appearance.

On that morning of August 13, 1961 Berlin's Wall was a trivial enough entity, physically speaking; and even today it is physically not very formidable. But the physical wall has never been important, never anything for modern machines and explosives to take seriously. "The Wall" that properly bears the capitalized initial is compounded of spirit and will, not of matter. It is a wall rather like the wall of fire that Wotan drew around Bruennhilde: which no physical weapon but only a fearless heart could breach.

It cannot be too often repeated: Who says A, must say B. This is the first law of politics, and the hardest to comprehend; and President Kennedy and his ideologues do not, evidently, comprehend it. The Wall was the first term in a linked series. Its first meager stones smashed, by necessary implication, the political structure upon which the Western position in Berlin and the corridors is based. Having accepted so much, how can they oppose—except with words, of which they have a-plenty, or unconvincing gestures like these pointless mobilizings — each further small step, or slice? They cannot; they do not.

Those who fail before A try to conduct themselves as if A had never been. For this or that reason, we could not handle A. But A is over the dam. Now we confront B, or, rather, J, K and L. This time things are to be different. We shall draw the line, stand firm before K and L.

It doesn't work that way. K and L are only secondary consequences of J; J, of I and H; and the whole series, of A. You cannot stop at K and L for long. To hold there you must turn back, and painfully, slowly, retrace the series: right back until, with a thousand times more difficulty than at the first chance, you meet A's still persisting challenge. In Berlin, that means you must face, and conquer, the Wall. Failing that, your position must continue, slow or fast, to crumble.

And Southeast Asia

The pattern is no different in Southeast Asia. "A" was the failure to respond to the challenge of the Pathet Lao in Laos. Instead of meeting that challenge, the President and his ideologues drummed up a pseudo-solution (the united front troika) that is only a formula for piecemeal surrender. Having said A, they find B and C and D following. The Communist armies in Laos do not disband. The Pathet Lao extends its operations to northeastern Thailand. The civil war in South Vietnam swells, fed through the Laotian corridor. Cambodia calls for neutralism. Burma swings toward Peiping. From a dozen directions comes the demand that the Laotian formula be applied to South Vietnam. Why not? Why does it make sense to fight a bitter, drawn-out war in South Vietnam if there was nothing worth fighting for in Laos? To that question there can be no convincing answer. Therefore it will prove in the end impossible to stand firm in South Vietnam, unless the painful reversal occurs right back through the whole series, back to Laos and A, back indeed to North Vietnam —for the original "A" in the Southeast Asian series was not the capitulation in Laos but the surrender of North Vietnam.

And the Caribbean

And Cuba, of course. The first attempted friendship with Castro was perhaps an error more of mind than of will. When the Castro regime was seen for what it was, a proper response—the U.S.-backed invasion by exiles—was formulated. But President Kennedy and his ideologues failed to carry that response through in action. That failure was the Cuban A; and B, C and D have inexorably followed. The present flow of Russian men and arms are only one more consequence of the President's inability to order the second preparatory air strike and the air cover at the Bay of Pigs. And the end is certainly not yet. If there are no nuclear missile units in the arms now being unloaded, there will be. If the friends of Castro-Khrushchev have not yet made their first serious move toward a second Caribbean base, they soon will.

Having accepted the defeat at the Bay of Pigs, the President and his ideologues find themselves driven to accept the individually lesser terms in the cumulative series that has followed. As always, the stand cannot be made unless it reaches all the way back. The objective of the Bay of Pigs remains on the books as unfinished and indispensable business. The President will hope in vain to prevent the Caribbean threat from "developing further." (Does no one grasp the incredible historical significance of America's President addressing the world about *a threat of aggression from Cuba?—from Cuba!*) It will continue to develop until A is unsaid, until the Castro regime is overthrown. That was not too big a job in April, 1961. Now it cannot be done without a major direct action by U.S. military forces. But if it is not done now or tomorrow, a day will come when it cannot be done at all.

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Liberal Republicans Look to '64

A look-in on the political maneuvering of those Liberal Republicans who want to make sure the conservatives will be the "outs" again in '64

GEORGE F. HOBART

The "All-Republican Conference" at Gettysburg June 30th undoubtedly produced one thing—a prize political blunder on General Eisenhower's part. It was at this "unity" session that the General gave his unwitting endorsement to *Advance,* a slick mouthpiece of modern Republicanism.

There under the blue and white tent Ike praised the little known publication ("I have read at least one of its copies containing a piece 'Advice and Dissent.' . . . I would commend it to each of you. . . ."), calling attention specifically to its March issue which had thoroughly blasted the Republican leadership in Congress. And there under the same blue and white tent sat Senator Everett Dirksen and Representative Charles Halleck whom *Advance* had pelted as "comic relief . . . intellectual paupers . . . humorous . . . fat and choleric . . . leaders [who] are not leading." Eisenhower has since reversed himself on *Advance,* but the story behind his endorsement of the magazine bears telling.

Paternal Interest

The Eisenhower boost for *Advance* was made at the urging of John L. Loeb Jr., son of the senior partner of the Wall Street firm of Loeb, Rhoades & Co., and one of the financial angels of *Advance.* Walter N. Thayer, a close associate of Jock Whitney (*N.Y. Herald Tribune*), arranged to have *Advance* publisher Bruce Marshall on hand for the meeting. Both Loeb and Thayer are members of the new Republican National Citizens Committee. Why, you may ponder, do Wall Street and the *Trib* take such a paternal interest in a "student Republican" journal from Harvard? The answer provides one of the most intriguing political stories to come out of Washington in some time.

Advance is just the tip of the iceberg. What is happening is that a select group of Modern Republicans has determined to reassert the hold it had on the party organization when it put Ike over in '52 and, for that matter, Wendell Willkie in '40.

With the retirement of Eisenhower in 1961 the first stirrings of the projected Liberal Republican takeover appeared. It was at this point that the natural coalition of conservatives of both parties was reactivated in Congress with clear results—the defeats of the farm bill, Medicare, tax proposals, etc. But simultaneously there re-emerged from within Republican ranks in Congress a small band of vocal Liberals. The solid core has never numbered more than ten, including Senators Jacob Javits (N.Y.), Clifford Case (N.J.), John Sherman Cooper (Ky.) and Thomas Kuchel (Calif.); and Congressmen John Lindsay (N.Y.), Bradford Morse (Mass.), Abner Sibal and Horace Seeley-Brown (Conn.). These men are part and parcel of a movement within the GOP that is grasping for power outside the Congress.

The Liberal Republican bloc in Congress made its first splash on the vote to amend House rules to give pro-Kennedy forces a majority on the conservative House Rules Committee. Twenty-one Republicans joined Liberal Democrats to pass the "reform" by a margin of five votes. It was Sam Rayburn's final glory.

What caused a 50-megaton stir on the Hill was that Rep. Thomas B. Curtis of Missouri, a highly respected six-termer from St. Louis, was a leader of the defectors. Curtis, noted for his conservative view of economics, and a ranking Republican of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, switched sides on parliamentary grounds. He felt that, as a matter of principle, the majority party should have the right to control its own committee memberships. He argued that an expanded Rules Committee would destroy the Liberal argument that it was the coalition of southern Democrats and conservative Republicans on the Rules Committee—and that alone—that made impossible the passage of the Kennedy programs. In a way his position has been vindicated, but Congressman Curtis gained no friends on the Republican side for his legalistic approach to the problem.

High-handed Methods

And this brings us to a man named Frederick Hermann Sontag, who plays a very important part in this story.

Fred Sontag is a professional public relations consultant from Montclair, New Jersey. He has been associated with Representative Tom Curtis since 1957 and was for six years a special consultant to Eisenhower's Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell. Sontag is probably one of the least known and most disliked men in Washington. His high-handed methods have made him enemies among the infuriated underlings of the men he seeks to influence. He is on intimate terms with columnists from Drew Pearson to Roscoe Drummond; he knows everyone who might be useful to him in the publishing field.

Until recently he was on the congressional office payroll of Representative Curtis. But in January of 1961 Sontag began his broader anti-conservative operations. During the Rules Committee battle he planted anti-Committee information in local newspapers in the districts of congressmen who were undecided on their vote. More recently, Sontag has been using the inadequate staffing of the minority party on congressional committees to discredit the Republican leadership of Dirksen and Halleck.

The minority staff issue is a classic

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example of the Sontag operation. Supplied with figures by Sontag, Roscoe Drummond has produced no less than three syndicated columns attacking the Republican leadership for its alleged lack of interest in the matter. The most recent, on July 15, concluded that if Halleck and Dirksen do not do something about the situation they should be ousted as GOP leaders when the new Congress convenes.

The issue is legitimate. For years the Democrats have shortchanged the minority GOP in allotting staff members on committees. But little can be done to change this in view of the fact that the Democrats *are* the majority. A few weeks ago a bill to provide for more equal staff distribution died a quick death in the "reformed" Rules Committee. But Sontag is using the issue as a club to discredit Dirksen and Halleck. In Sontag's view, anything which can divide Republicans and thus end the conservative coalition is fair game.

One of Fred Sontag's most curious liaisons is with the National Committee for an Effective Congress, a Liberal offshoot of the Americans for Democratic Action. The purpose of the Committee is to elect and assist senators and congressmen who are preferably to the left of Jimmy Roosevelt's mother.

The membership of the NCEC includes such worthies as Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., Robert E. Nathan, Stringfellow Barr, Michael Straight and General Telford Taylor. So it was, as you can imagine, quite a surprise when the NCEC, before the 1960 elections, endorsed the re-election of Rep. Thomas B. Curtis of Missouri, a hitherto staunch conservative, against of all people, a union official. Sontag engineered this endorsement because his greatest asset in his constant public relations war against the Republican leadership in Congress, and the conservative coalition, has been the great respect most people have for his employer, Congressman Curtis. The Curtis name has opened many doors for Sontag. But the real question remains: who actually is backing Sontag?

And that brings us back to *Advance,* a Harvard "student" publication rumored to have been started with Rockefeller money a couple of years ago. It was no time after Sontag and the editors of *Advance* had become acquainted that the magazine's pages were filled with little tips and stories from Capitol Hill, most of which were either highly favorable to Congressman Tom Curtis (and other Sontag protégés—Case, Cooper, Javits, Lindsay, *et al.*) or extremely unfavorable to the Republican conservatives. The next logical step was the March issue of *Advance* devoted completely to what the *Washington Post* gleefully called "a stinging critique" of the Republican leaders of Congress. It was this March issue of *Advance* which Ike professed to have read and which he commended to others.

Early this year one of the associate editors of *Advance* spent five months in the office of Congressman Tom Curtis as an "aide." Today this Harvard graduate and the publisher of *Advance* share a Capitol Hill apartment-office from which they have begun the publication of a monthly bulletin commenting on the Washington political scene. The entire *Advance* operation has now graduated from Harvard and joined the Washington alumni, although on the Republican side of the fence. At the recent Republican congressional candidates campaign school the publisher of *Advance*, his editorial staff, and Fred Sontag were conspicuous by their group attendance at the closed-door sessions, making useful new acquaintances among the Republicans who may well sit in the next Congress.

Unlikely Coincidence

The distribution of *Advance* has been extensive and expensive. It has gone out to the mailing lists of the Republican National Committee, Young Republican officials, and all state, county and local leaders. The publisher of *Advance* privately expresses satisfaction with the financial backing of John Hay Whitney, John L. Loeb Jr., and their friends on Wall Street—the very group which financed and staffed "Citizens for Eisenhower" and "Volunteers for Nixon." It is more than a coincidence that these same people now turn up as the chief architects of the Republican National Committee and the All-Republican Conference.

Within days after Ike praised *Advance,* Liberal columnist Thomas O'Neill of the *Baltimore Sun* devoted a full column to Ike's implied criticism of Dirksen and Halleck, as did Lyle Wilson in the *Washington Daily News.* Meanwhile *Advance* rolled its first Washington issue off the presses with a banner headline, "Ike Likes Us."

An odd piece in the GOP puzzle is the role of the party's National Chairman, William E. Miller, a six-term congressman from Lockport, N.Y., with an impeccable conservative voting record. He refused, or more exactly had the National Committee higher-ups refuse, permission to the college Young Republicans to issue a strong press denunciation of the *Advance* attack. When the college YR chairman and co-chairman tried to point out that the Harvard YR club had repudiated the *Advance* group, "senior party officials" intervened and would permit only a weak disavowal of any connection between the official Young Republicans and *Advance.*

More recent and more significant has been Chairman Miller's open support of the All-Republican Confer-

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Words, Words, Words

One hears now and then that we have a "no win" purpose or policies. That is simply not so. Of course we intend to win. And we are going to win. Our objective is a victory for all mankind.

Dean Rusk, Secretary of State

The other morning when I read
The Secretary's words, I said
To certain Liberals I know:
"Good God; he's talking just like Joe;"
(They knew the "Joe" I had in mind,
Therefore, their answers were unkind.)
However, thinking back a bit,
I had some second thoughts, to wit:
We *still* give Marshal Tito dough.
We *still* think Tshombe is *de trop.*
While smiling at the FLN,
We're cool to Chiang Kai-shek.
And when
The Turks advise they've run amuck,
The best we offer them is, "Luck!"
That's why I'm reconsidering
The Secretary's reasoning.
Methinks he doth protest too much!
(For confirmation, ask the Dutch.)

W. H. VON DREELE

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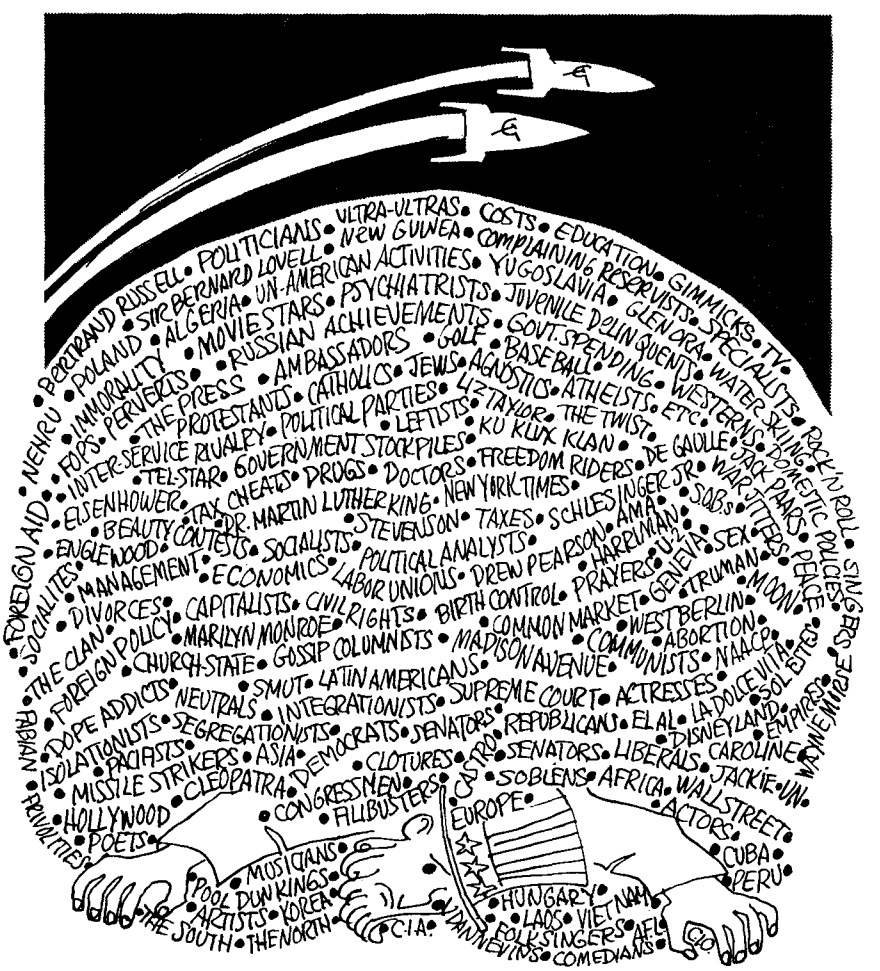
ence, which he heads, and the National Citizens Committee. Both the ARC and the NCC can be traced back to several influential part-time Republicans who have manned the "Citizens and/or Volunteers For" etc. It was easy to sell Eisenhower on the idea of having an All-Republican Conference. But, as it turned out, the ARC was only to be the launching pad for the National Citizens Committee.

When the Republicans gathered for the ARC meeting under the Gettysburg tent, not a single speaker mentioned anything about a "National Citizens Committee." They were consequently considerably jolted the following morning (as was Barry Goldwater) by a *Herald Tribune* front-page headline which proclaimed, "Ike Launches Citizens Group to Rally Party." Lo and behold, overnight the All-Republican Conference had given birth to the National Citizens Committee composed of professional "Citizens" and "Volunteers" who, as Senator Goldwater put it, had not been able after twelve years and three national elections to bring themselves to work within the regular Republican organization.

Oddly enough, Jock Whitney's *Herald Tribune* was the only major newspaper to carry the story of the NCC formation. By a feat of inspired journalism the *Trib* also blossomed forth with photographs of many of the Liberal "Citizens" who had picked themselves to serve on the NCC. Among them: Walter N. Thayer, *Tribune* president; John L. Loeb Jr., Ike's influential pal and *Advance* backer; and sixteen others, mostly of the Liberal Republican stripe.

Among the announced objectives of the NCC are the recruitment of new candidates, formation of "citizens' groups," research "which will lead to development of positive programs. . . ." The NCC will work, according to a *Trib* editorial (July 2), at ". . . developing doctrine and candidates for a truly national and vital party." There will be a NCC Washington headquarters with a research staff, and Ike will be the honorary head.

There you have it. Where once there was only one Republican National Committee, now there are three. Where once the traditional voice of the minority party was that of its congressional leadership, now there will be a chorus of unity—the RNC, NCC, ARC, IKE and the GOP. Add a dash of the ubiquitous Sontag, a stab or two from the Liberal band in Congress, a few lumps from *Advance,* and you have the least appealing mess of modern Republicanism since Harold Stassen last ran last.



WHY SAMMY CAN'T RUN!

The Battleground

It is worth recalling that in 1954 the late Senator Pat McCarran, a staunchly conservative Nevada Democrat, inserted in the *Congressional Record* several newspaper articles concerning a highly secret group that had been formed within the Republican Party. The group, said McCarran, is ". . . the Republican Advance, which appears to stand in approximately the same relation to the Republican Party as Americans for Democratic Action stands to the Democratic Party." *That* Advance was founded by a group of Republican congressmen, and others, at a secret meeting in Philadelphia in 1950 with the express purpose of soft-pedaling the conservative leadership of Robert Taft and Joseph Martin, as well as the Communist issue. The founders included the then Congressmen Case (N.J.), Keating (N.Y.), Javits (N.Y.), Scott (Pa.) and Nixon (Calif.). It was reported that among the principal backers were Henry Luce of *Time-Life* and the mysterious New York financier Sidney Weinberg. Two of their stated aims were the election of "a Liberal Republican Congress" and "the elimination of Joe McCarthy."

This same group, most of them now Senators, are preparing to carry on from there. The present Congress is the battleground. It can operate, as it has this session, as a roadblock or, given sufficient conservative strength, as a constructive arm of government. A solid conservative majority in Congress after the next elections, even if the Republicans do not win numerical control, can serve as a new hope for conservatism. It is this very real possibility which has produced the GOP power struggle and forced the "Citizens" and "Volunteers," who put over Willkie and Eisenhower, to make their play a full two years ahead of the Republican convention of '64.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Now I Lay Me Down to Sleep

Even though our enlightened Supreme Court, in its infinite wisdom, has told us how wicked we are if we pray in school, certain obdurate religionists are insufficiently deferential to Caesar. How difficult it is to extirpate these hoary superstitions, despite all the good work of Americans for Democratic Action!

Kirk

Probably you recall, gentle secularistic readers, that the school board of Twin Lakes, Wisconsin, some months ago had the effrontery to introduce the McGuffey Readers into its classrooms. Horror of horrors, the McGuffey Readers contain *ethical precepts*—how archaic!—and even, scandal of scandals, extracts from the Sermon on the Mount.

Some righteous anti-ethical parents promptly brought a court action to have the reactionaries on this Wisconsin school board removed from their posts because of their scoundrelly attachment to religion—well, ethics, anyway—and the American political system. But alas and lackaday, a Wisconsin court has dismissed this suit, and McGuffey continues to corrupt—as supplementary reading—the tender minds of Twin Lakes.

That Back Door

In Long Island, too, that vexation, God, slips in the back door, even though our Supreme Court has done its best to bar the gates against Him. The Court's anti-prayer decision was rendered directly against the schools of Hyde Park, Long Island, where the board has been trying to restore purpose and discipline (how shocking!) to the curriculum. One might have expected that Long Islanders would have rested content with duckling dinners after this reprimand, and confined Jehovah to his archaic Heaven, where—if anywhere—He belongs.

But no! "You may break, you may shatter the vase, if you will; / But the scent of the roses will cling to it still." Those pestiferous Long Island public schools seem to be contriving to get God in with a secular visa. Linderhurst public schools, for instance, have substituted for the unconstitutional Prayer an insidious passage from that sacerdotal document, the Declaration of Independence (1776), written by that stubborn theocrat Thomas Jefferson. Here is the nasty little anti-secular gobbet:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. In this cause we beg the Blessings of Divine Providence upon us and upon our Country."

Well! One must concede that participation in this recital by pupils is to be voluntary. But notice that Creator with a capital C, and that cultural-lag concept of Divine Providence! What Warren-fearing Justice of the Supreme Court can stomach this arrant Jeffersonian religionism? Away with the bigotry of Deism!

Anticipating a secular crusade of our progressive courts against surviving vestiges of Christianity—except in case of war, of course, in which—with the Soviet Russians—we might condescend to praise the Lord and pass the ammunition—I am preparing a revision of juvenile prayers so as to accord with the spirit of our age. Here is the first model in the *Book of Secular Prayer:*

Now I lay me down to sleep;
I pray the President my body to keep.
If I should sicken before I wake,
I pray that Medicare may cure my ache.

A little more soberly, it will be interesting to see what attitude the hierarchy of the National Education Association takes toward the judicial abolition of school prayers. Of course John Dewey would have approved heartily of Earl Warren and Company; and the National Education Association zealots are Dewey's seed, with a vengeance.

But there is this difficulty: if prayers are forbidden altogether in public schools, and if the curriculum is secularized even more thoroughly than at present (if that be conceivable), then increasingly a great many American parents may take their children out of public schools and put them into parochial and private foundations—supposing the Supreme Court doesn't find prayer unconstitutional for Lutheran and Catholic and Episcopalian classes. And that would diminish the purses and the power of the NEA people.

Federal Subsidies

Already, one child out of every six attends a church-connected or private school; and this proportion has been increasing steadily since 1900, when only 8 per cent of elementary and secondary pupils attended non-public schools. Dr. James Bryant Conant, looking upon this as "divisive," would like to sweep away parochial and private schools altogether; but he is not going to have his way. Certainly the anti-prayer decision has given the quietus to the lobby for federal subsidies to public schools, since any religiously-inclined citizen now knows that such grants would help only the thoroughgoing educational secularists.

I take it that the American Civil Liberties Union, and other bodies eager to root out Demon Religion from the schools, will prescribe certain deletions from the Declaration of Independence, if the pure minds of the rising generation must be exposed to that notorious theocratic manifesto. How can we possibly corrupt the young, and oppress religious minorities, with a shameless reference to "Nature and Nature's God"? Even Nature with a capital N is crypto-religionist. Surely the clause should be amended to run, "nature and nature boy," or some enlightened touch of that character.

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»BOOKS·ARTS·MANNERS«

The Economics of Freedom

HENRY HAZLITT

One of the unhappy casualties of World War I was the old-fashioned treatise on economic "principles." This was a work not too technical to be read by the intelligent layman, on the one hand, nor, on the other, like current textbooks, a choppy and oversimplified compilation of currently fashionable doctrine. One of the last of the species was Frank W. Taussig's *Principles of Economics,* first published in 1911. The spirit of that book was revealed in a passage from the preface:

"I have tried in this book to state the principles of economics in such form that they shall be comprehensible to an educated and intelligent person who has not before made any systematic study of the subject. Though designed in this sense for beginners, the book does not gloss over difficulties or avoid severe reasoning. No one can understand economic phenomena or prepare himself to deal with economic problems who is unwilling to follow trains of reasoning which call for sustained attention. I have done my best to be clear, and to state with care the grounds on which my conclusions rest, as well as the conclusions themselves, but have made no vain pretense of simplifying all things."

It is the announced purpose of Dr. Rothbard's *Man, Economy, and State* (two volumes running to a total of 1,000 pages) to write in this spirit and "to fill part of the enormous gap of forty years' time." And he has succeeded. He has given us a work in the tradition of Taussig, Wicksteed,

Man, Economy, and State: A Treatise on Economic Principles, **by Murray N. Rothbard. Van Nostrand, $20.00**

Fetter, Knight and Mises, a comprehensive study of *principles,* which treats economics as a coherent edifice, not a fragmented study of "utility," "monopoly," "international trade," "labor," "agriculture," "public finance," and "linear programming." Such a unified edifice, as Rothbard explains, can be built only by treating economics as a deductive science using verbal logic. For "if economics proceeds by deductive logic grounded on a few simple and evident axioms, then the corpus of economics can be presented as an interrelated whole to the intelligent layman with no loss of utimate rigor."

This was the method of the "Austrian" economists. It is the method of Ludwig von Mises. In fact, Rothbard, a former student of Mises, frankly takes off from *Human Action*: "From now on, little constructive work can be done in economics unless it starts from *Human Action*. . . . In one sense, the present work attempts to isolate the economic, fill in the interstices, and spell out the detailed implications, as I see them, of the Misesian structure."

What contributions has Rothbard made to the structure? He indicates some of them in his own preface. His book begins by deducing the entire corpus of economics from a few simple "axioms": "the Fundamental Axiom of *action*—that men employ means to achieve ends"; that "there is a *variety* of human and natural resources," and that "leisure is a consumers' good." Rothbard is not afraid to be old-fashioned enough to begin with "Crusoe economics" before he takes up interpersonal relations, and barter before he takes up indirect exchange through money. One of the features of his consumption-and-production theory is "the resurrection of Professor Frank A. Fetter's brilliant and completely neglected theory of *rent—i.e.,* the concept of rent as the hire prices of a unit service. *Capitalization* then becomes the process of determining the present values of the expected future rents of a good. The Fetter-Mises pure time-preference theory of interest is synthesized with the Fetter rent theory [and] with the Austrian theory of the structure of production. . . . One 'radical' feature of our analysis of production is a complete break with the currently fashionable 'short-run' theory of the firm, substituting for this a general theory of marginal value productivity and capitalization. It is a 'general equilibrium' analysis in the dynamic Austrian, and not in the static, currently popular Walrasian sense." Rothbard also expounds "a completely new theory of monopoly—that monopoly can be meaningfully defined only as a grant of privilege by the state, and that a monopoly price can be attained only from such a grant. In short, there can be no monopoly price on a free market."

So far I have adhered to Rothbard's own summary. But I am not sure he has done full justice to his own contribution. For example, I do not recall any book (with the possible exception of the works of Mises, Fetter and Böhm-Bawerk) that gives so full a recognition to the inherent and omnipresent (but neglected) role of *time,* not merely in the explanation of interest, but in all economic activity. Rothbard constantly emphasizes time as an indispensable factor in all production, and as a necessary but "scarce" means to all our ends.

ON A SCORE of other major points, also, he contributes lucidity and light: his excellent description of the enormous benefits of a money economy over one of the direct exchange; his explanation of why a separate theory of "international" trade is unnecessary and why the "balance of payments problem" for a nation is no different from that for an individual; his rigorous exposition of a *pure*

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time-preference theory of interest; his mordant exposure of labor union fallacies; his beautiful explanation of why the free market, far from being "anarchic" or "planless," is the only organization under which true economic balance and order are possible.

What does Rothbard's book give us that Mises' does not? The question can best be answered by a comparison. One mathematician does not necessarily differ from another when he explores other fields or other specific problems. The chief difference between Mises and Rothbard is that the latter, treating at much less length some of the basic problems that Mises has explored more thoroughly, devotes a much larger part of his work to the refutation of opposing doctrines: some as found in the older works, such as those of Henry George, Veblen, Marshall, Fisher, Schumpeter, and Knight; but more particularly those found in the literature of the last twenty-five years —in the Keynesians, in the "mathematical economists," in W. W. Rostow, in Galbraith.

It is in the controversial part of his work that Rothbard is most stimulating. With the statistical and mathematical economists he is unsparing. He points out the arbitrary and unscientific nature of all index numbers, as well as the emptiness or deceptiveness of the equations in which the mathematical economists deal: "*In human action there are no quantitative constants.* As a necessary corollary, all praxeological-economic laws are qualitative, not quantitative." His exposure of the chief Keynesian doctrines is thorough, and his criticism of Galbraith is devastating.

In discussing a book of such importance, with so much in it to praise, and with an instructive challenge on nearly every page to some "orthodox" or "unorthodox" doctrine, it seems ungrateful to call attention to flaws. Yet in a structure of thought of which the foundations are so carefully laid, and in the midst of an otherwise brilliant and penetrating discussion, Rothbard will suddenly announce some extraordinary conclusion based on a fragment of abstract doctrinaire logic. Examples are his sharp contrast between copyrights and patents, and his implication that the former might well be granted in perpetuity and the latter not at all; his conclusion that repudiation of government debt is no great evil; that it even has a "social utility," and the added advantage of making future government borrowing more difficult; his opinion that libel and slander ought not to be illegalized, and that even blackmail "would not be illegal in the free society. For blackmail is the receipt of money in exchange for the service of not publicizing certain information about the other person. No violence or threat of violence to person or property is involved."

It is hard to explain these aberrations. They are in such sharp contrast to the rest of the book that they seem almost as if stuck in by another hand. But they are practically all in the legal and political, rather than in the economic, field. The nearest I can come to a rational explanation of them is to assume that when Rothbard wanders out of the strictly economic realm, in which his scholarship is so rich and his reasoning so rigorous, he is misled by his epistemological doctrine of "extreme apriorism" into trying to substitute his own instant jurisprudence for the common law principles built up through generations of human experience.

I mention these lapses because I am certain that opponents of the book, and victims of his devastating refutations, trying to discredit so much that is brilliant and original and profound, will cite them with relish and with the implication that the rest of the book can be ignored. But it cannot be ignored. It is in fact the most important general treatise on economic principles since Ludwig von Mises' *Human Action* in 1949.

The Ex-Communist as Witness

NATHANIEL WEYL

Financed by the Fund for the Republic and emanating from Stanford University, this book is primarily concerned, not with whether ex-Communist witnesses Chambers, Bentley, Budenz and Lautner told the truth, but whether the investigative processes used were adapted to "eliciting a full development of the facts." The processes in question are trials (Hiss and Remington), congressional inquiries and administrative proceedings.

Ex-Communist Witnesses: Four Studies in Fact Finding, by Herbert L. Packer. Stanford, $4.95

The question is a pertinent and significant one. Unfortunately, while Professor Packer has written a conscientious and, in certain areas, an intelligent book, he suffers from lack of understanding of the world of Communist conspiracy, imperceptivity concerning character and motivation, and a tendency to dwell on minor detail, neglecting the historically significant.

The most important achievement of the four witnesses Packer discusses was to have sounded an alarm bell which awakened a sleeping nation to the fact that its government has been massively penetrated by agents of the Soviet conspiracy. Their testimony utterly destroyed the romanticized stereotype of the Communist as a heroic fighter for social justice, which had gained some acceptance during the Spanish struggle and in World War II. Their great achievement in mass education would have been impossible without the vehicle of the congressional committee which, by means of confrontation and conflict, transformed the battle to eradicate disloyalty into a sort of morality play. If Packer does not refer to this achievement, it is because he seemingly doubts that the conspiracy ever amounted to much or was particularly sinister. Writing in 1962, he asks whether the Com-

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munist Party really advocated revolution by violence. He concedes that Whittaker Chambers was "a largely convincing witness," but asserts that the Hiss case "remains enigmatic in its larger aspects." The fact that J. Edgar Hoover found Elizabeth Bentley a witness of exemplary veracity does not prevent Packer from concluding that "no witness' story is better calculated to inspire mistrust or disbelief. . . ." He finds it odd that Miss Bentley knew very little about the spy documents she trafficked with (yet obviously a courier need not be an expert on what she carries). He protests that the committees neglected to subpoena this or that witness (yet in some cases there was every reason to believe they would merely have wasted time invoking the Fifth Amendment). He boggles at Budenz' assertion that the CPUSA distributed documents to its leaders, documents which used code letters in designating members whose identity was to be kept secret and which were to be destroyed after reading. (Yet this was done in both the U.S. and the Mexican CPs.)

DR. PACKER does not oppose investigation of Communism as such, but he believes the institutions at hand to be inadequate. The court trial concentrates on the narrow range of individual guilt or innocence. The witness' story is often lost in labyrinthine objections and procedural arguments. The congressional committee, in Packer's view, is too often the toy of politics and is conducted by harassed or untrained men who neither elicit testimony systematically nor cross-examine searchingly. He therefore proposes some variant of the British Royal Commission or Tribunal of Inquiry, in which commissioners would be named jointly by the legislature and the executive.

This proposal involves abdication by the Congress of a vital constitutional power, that power of inquiry which, in Woodrow Wilson's opinion, was perhaps more important than the power to legislate itself. Were the investigation of subversives taken out of the hands of Congress, the hearings and findings would be pigeonholed by the press and largely ignored by the public. Should Congress turn these probes over to some jointly appointed body, Presidential power might again be deployed, as in the years of Truman, to call treason a red herring and to protect undeserving Democrats at the cost of the security of the American people. Even today, the power of the President serves to thwart or silence needed investigations. It may be significant that, after the lapse of a year, highly illuminating testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee by and about William Arthur Wieland has not been made public.

Professor Packer is too intelligent to join the mindless slogan-shouters of pseudo-Liberalism. There is nothing in his book about "witch hunters" and no comparison between congressmen and Heinrich Himmler. He does not become righteously indignant about "guilt by association," but observes sensibly that association with malefactors can be contributory evidence of guilt, although it does not suffice to prove guilt. Because of the intricate issue of waiver of the privilege, Professor Packer argues that taking the Fifth Amendment does not

Random Notes

● REWARDS: We recall the melancholy fact that the first rhetorician to set himself the sticky task of discovering what Alfred Nobel meant by the stipulations for his literary prize blew his brains out soon after. That was Allen Upward in 1910; the struggle to discover became a book called *The New Word;* and the new word, requisite ingredient for picking up the Nobel award in literature, was *idealism.* Right now the windy promotion of Upton Sinclair blows toward the Swedish Academy, and no one will be surprised if he gets it. The surprise would come from his *not* getting it. Idealism is a wonderful thing. . . . A more understandable prize goes to Marianne Mantell and Barbara Holdridge of Caedmon Records, for their project, well begun, to record all of Shakespeare. They have received the annual American Shakespeare Festival Award for 1962 for the twelve recordings thus far released. The completed works will have cost around a million dollars and will consist of 125 LPs, narrative poems and sonnets included.

● OUT FROM UNDER: The Mark Twain estate has finally allowed *Letters from Earth* to hit the bookstores, more grumblings against the American Board and Sunday School. The last release, a decade ago, from Twain's wicked scribblings in theology, delicately sat upon by his family, was fascinating (the unexpurgated text of *Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven* and the first publication of *A Letter from the Recording Angel,* together as *Report from Paradise,* Harper, 1952) and should have been in readers' hands long ago. . . . The Russians, says Reuters, will soon be able to read *Doctor Zhivago.*

● VALE: *Variety* reports that the Grand Opera House of Evansville, Indiana (long since the Grand Theater), where "Sweet Adeline" was first sung in 1910, will be a parking lot by the end of this month. It opened in 1889 with *Lucia de Lammermoor,* was a big stop in the vaudeville Orpheum circuit, and eventually became a movie house—and parking lot.

● THE ARTS: Following up Mrs. Kennedy's TV tour of the White House, the Princess of Monaco will do an hour's spectacular ditto of her palace, due in February. Nina Khrushchev, get with it. . . . The U.S. offering *Lolita* at the Venice Film Festival; England, *Term of Trial,* with Sir Laurence Olivier. . . . Ray Bradbury's *The Anthem Sprinters,* a collection of five plays, is being published by the new Dial Drama books ($3 hardback, $1.50 paper). . . . The doll-joke fad has hatched a book, Wohl's and Rice's *Dolls My Mother Never Gave Me* (Pocket Books, $1.50).

● CORRECTION, TRANSATLANTIC DEPARTMENT: In *NR,* July 3, a brief review of *Newman, The Pillar of the Cloud,* by Meriol Trevor, gave the publisher as Macmillan. Macmillan did publish it—in England. Doubleday is the publisher of the American edition. We had the price right—$7.95.

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necessarily imply that the witness is either guilty of the indicated crime or committing perjury. Here, as elsewhere, judicial interpretation of the Constitution has spread beyond its original purpose or any rule of reason. Certainly, nobody would argue for a return to the English common law which prevailed just before the American Revolution, under which a prisoner who stood "mute of malice" was killed by *peine forte et dure*. But to confine the privilege to proceedings in a federal court would be an entirely different matter. Were this the case, a criminal, when queried by a congressional committee, would have to choose between telling the truth (and risking indictment), lying (and risking a perjury charge) or being silent (and incurring contempt). As a rule, the witness would be protected by choosing the second course, since, if the crime could not be proved, neither could the perjury.

Real reforms are needed in the investigation of subversive activities. A revolution in criminal procedure must await a basic change in the outlook of superior courts, one that recognizes that the balance between protection of the accused, and social order, has been upset to the detriment of the latter. The congressional committees are doing a difficult job under the snarling harassment of the left-wing minority. Nevertheless, changes are needed. The office of minority counsel might contribute to impartiality and exactitude. Ex-Communist witnesses should be subjected to the same rigorous and searching cross-examination as others. Elimination of probes of secondary areas of Communist activity would enable the committees to concentrate their scanty resources on those subversive assaults which are most critical to the survival of the nation. In these areas, systematic pursuit of the inquiries is indicated regardless of where they lead, whom they expose, or whose anger and attempted intimidation they provoke.

The Technique of the Trumpet

SIR ARNOLD LUNN

THOMAS HARDY did his best to ensure that the verdict of posterity on his life and character should be based on evidence which he selected and on his own estimate of his worth. If a man writes an autobiography, his self-praise, however discreet, is less effective than the praise of others. Even if he only breathes down his own trumpet he is liable to be accused of blowing it. Hardy's technique of the trumpet was highly original. He wrote not an autobiography but a biography which was to be attributed after his death to his wife. Every chapter, except the last which describes his death, was written by Hardy and the manuscript was destroyed piecemeal immediately after it had been typed by his wife. The typescript itself was corrected in a disguised hand. Even the publishers were to be deceived into believing that the book was a genuine biography written by his widow. The publishers attribute the book, on the dust jacket, to "the poet and novelist's second wife," though they are, of course, well aware of the fact that the truth was hinted at in T. E. Lawrence's published letters and revealed in 1954 by Professor Richard L. Purdy, who had scrutinized the surviving typescripts and other pertinent papers.

The Life of Thomas Hardy, 1840-1928, by Florence Emily Hardy. St. Martin's, $7.00

I WAS unaware of these facts when I first read the *Life*, and, while making full allowances for wifely bias, I still felt that Hardy, though sensitive to criticism, was basically modest and unambitious; but his reputation must inevitably suffer from the fact that he had been to such pains to construct a flattering image of himself and to disguise the fact that this image was a self-portrait.

Hardy keenly resented Chesterton's jibe—"the village atheist brooding over the village idiot." He began reading with a view to taking Orders, and throughout his life he remained a frequent church-goer and often read the lessons. In reading this *Life*

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I have often recalled Anatole France's apothegm: "The philosophers know that poets do not think. That disarms and enchants them."

Les poètes ne pensent pas. From the premise that evolution "has revealed that all organic creatures are one family," Hardy argued that it would be as easy to justify the vivisection of men as of animals. By parity of reasoning one could maintain that it is as easy to justify eating man as eating lamb. And nobody who had given any real thought to the relation between the size of congregations and the doctrines preached could be so naive as to suggest that congregations would be trebled if "preternatural assumptions" were dropped. People don't go to church to hear "Honesty is the best policy" set to music.

Hardy reacted indignantly to Alfred Noyes' attribution to him of the belief that "the power behind the universe was an imbecile jester." It would be truer to describe Hardy as a confused and reluctant agnostic. The man who claimed to "have been looking for God for fifty years" was no atheist. Pascal understood his problem. "Console yourself. If you had not found Him, you would not be searching for Him."

Fiction

A Shrug for the Human Condition

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

IN *The Golden Notebook,* Doris Lessing has written what she seems to believe is a novel about sex and politics—those two raddling obsessions of the contemporary world. She

The Golden Notebook, by Doris Lessing. Simon and Schuster, $5.95

has instead involved herself in an exposition of that deadliest of sins, *acedia,* the spiritual boredom of people who have ceased really to care. She believes, also, that she has written a "modern" novel, whereas there is often an old-fashioned, almost quaint, flavor about it—like the waistless dresses and pot hats of the 1920s. True, she uses all the now-mandatory four-letter words, and many of their five-letter cousins. She probes the sexual act with a clinical perceptiveness that is *de rigueur* these days, and arrives at insights which are interesting and rare in their accuracy. These disquisitions on the mechanics of sexuality and the war between the sexes will be highly educational to those whose ideas of love derive from the romantic posturings of Ernest Hemingway and Henry Miller. But her attempts to link them to life and politics are a splendid failure. Most of her characters are Communists and semi-ex-Communists—but she writes about the Party as if the last decades of history had never really occurred. For she is back in the era when the welfare-worker mind was seeking desperately to find succor in the Communist movement and to reduce it to the lukewarm tea of Liberal attitudinizing. Her view of America and Americans, moreover, is a non-homogenized blend of pre-war British snobbism and the anti-McCarthy fulminations of the *New Statesman.*

But if a sense of unreality pervades the pages of Miss Lessing's novel, this is not germane to an evaluation of its merits. It is the right of a novelist to create a private or unreal world, just so long as it establishes a reality of its own. It is not for the critic to say, "This is the novel you should have written." He must ask only, "Does the world encompassed by these pages have a logic of its own? Are the characters and situations valid within the context of that world?" After all, Ronald Firbank's novels were contained within a cut-glass house almost exclusively furnished with complexly embroidered verbal antimacassars. And James Joyce's Dublin was as removed from the actuality of Ireland as was the Africa of Edgar Rice Burroughs. If Miss Lessing has

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SPEAKING UP . . .

Wm. F. Buckley Jr. hardly needs an introduction to the readers of National Review. *Yet I've met subscribers who still don't know that Bill is available for speaking dates.*

He first provoked public attention by his best-selling book, God and Man at Yale, *published in 1951. He's been on the lecture or debating platform ever since. He's spoken in every state but five. This year he'll be at Siena College, New York on September 17, in Davenport, Iowa the 18th, Kansas City, Mo. the 19th, San Antonio the 20th, Winnetka, Ill. the 21st, and will debate Norman Mailer in Chicago on the 22nd.*

In October he'll touch down in Pottstown, at Middlebury College, Alexandria, Va., Atlanta, and Spartanburg, S.C. And for the rest of the year, he's still just as crowded.

But I have three dates still open in May. Perhaps your University or Club would like to hear Bill Buckley in person. Won't you write?

Catherine Babcock

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chosen to write a novel of madness and frustration and sexual conflict; if her characters cannot quite decide whether Freud is God and Lenin his prophet or vice versa; if she has placed her narrative within the Procrustean confines of four notebooks in which the female protagonist develops a quadripartite schizophrenia; if she has mingled acute observations with politico-sexual fantasy, this does not matter. What is significant is that, once the reader has negotiated the first sixty painfully dull pages, he experiences a willing suspension of disbelief and begins to accept Miss Lessing's personal frame of reference.

As she describes the stylized life of the British in Central Africa; the psychological misadventures of the one-shot novelist who fills the notebooks with her anguish; the epicene acres of literary and left-wing London; the marriages which fall apart because they were never more than sanctioned prostitution; the Communists who hate the Soviet Union less because they despise their country more—one is held by the special fascination which reaches out from such psychiatric studies as Alfred Adler's *The Case of Miss R.* In time, the conviction that this is a rambling autobiography prepared for a psychoanalyst seizes the reader—and he is caught.

But it is precisely this quality that defeats *The Golden Notebook.* A work of art—of artifice, unlike a long look into the soul, must have a beginning, a middle, and an end—whether it be play, novel, popular song, or television act. A psychiatric study, however, merely comes to a conclusion at the point at which the analyst, like Little Jack Horner, sticks in his thumb and pulls out the plum of Elektra complex or penis envy. The patient is "cured" and surrenders the couch to the next victim. But in a novel, this is not enough. Miss Lessing forges a finish by having her protagonist close the four notebooks of diary, short story, self-analysis, clippings of daily press violence—then open a golden notebook whose over-obvious symbolism misses.

The case study, simply, is not complete. Miss Lessing's protagonist has not found the "real" man to satisfy her somewhat adolescent image of him. The "free woman"—the phrase is Miss Lessing's—remains in bondage. She ceases to be a Communist of

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the cell meetings and the dry-as-dust study groups. But though she mocks the Party, commiserates over its inability to stop lying, and delineates the overwhelming boredom it engenders, she has never really understood or rejected it. The reader turns the last page and wonders when the "free woman" will decide that she needs a new and better couch. Having climbed the tower beyond tragedy, intending all along to leap from its top, she climbs down with a shrug.

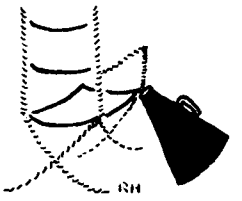
That *The Golden Notebook* should be so inconclusive is a pity. So, too, is the fact that the author skirts its main thesis. Miss Lessing writes evocatively, sensitively, and well. The book is full of passages which suddenly illuminate a dark corner of the human condition—what it means to be an artist, a woman, a disintegrating personality, an emasculated male. But having thoroughly involved the reader, she fails to extricate him. *The Golden Notebook* is like a beautiful piece of music which ends in an unresolved chord.

Movies

With Hawks in Brightest Africa

ARLENE CROCE

HATARI, the Swahili word for "danger," is used in the film only once. The title sums up the theme of the film, while the fact that it is scarcely mentioned sums up the film's uniquely relaxed, unreproachful, calmly professional point of view. The subject of *Hatari!* is the wild animals of Tanganyika and the men who catch them for zoos. The animals appear as themselves—"only man, not the tiger, can be less than himself," said Ortega—and the men, as men, not as units in a behavioral-science fantasy. It is a story about men who are not likely to be less than themselves, anyway; and as such it will confound anyone who goes to it looking for the Macomber twist, the Mau-Mau slant, the Memsahib bit, or the moralizing *Misfits* pitch ("But they're *free*! What right have *we*?").



The script is credited to "Leigh Brackett, from a story by Harry Kurnitz," but one cannot imagine its existing on paper. The story line reduces to a frayed thread, and at the fadeout, after merely 159 minutes of deliberate structural and dramatic vacancy, one half expects the director, Howard Hawks, to appear and write across the screen in white crayon, "That's all, Folks!" Having thrown away, before he began, every film that was ever made about Africa, Hawks now throws away his own. The gesture by any other name director is inconceivable. But it is Hawks' own style and, since it *is* style, past all self-indulgence.

Hatari! is Hawks' thirty-fifth production and is the most wonderful, elegant and refreshing movie since Jean Renoir's last release, *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe*. Although greater prestige attaches to the French master than to the American, they are alike in that each can ultimately be compared only to himself. And the later productions of both men share a pleasure and security in improvisation and a capacity for serious fun, which are possible only when past mastery of a medium yields the ability to break rules without breaking stride. In both of these films the spectator is well under the spell before he begins to realize that things are not precisely what he might have expected; but if his own capacity for serious fun is at least commensurate, he would not have it otherwise.

FOR example, *Hatari!* starts in the heavy tension of the masculine outdoor epic; a rhinoceros has been sighted, signals are exchanged and the chase is on. It is all absolutely solemn. In a moment one of the men is gored. Five hours away from medical help, the situation looks bad. At this portentous point, almost like a mockery of current hyperdramatic practice, Hawks brings on the credits and the film proper begins. If you have been worrying whether the men will make it back to the hospital in time, you needn't have; they do. Moments later, after you have supposed the man would die, he doesn't. And still later, as new faces take your eye, many of them—like Hardy Kruger's, Gerard Blain's, Elsa Martinelli's, Michele Girardon's—relatively unfamiliar, you see that your interest will be centered in the people and their life, not in the action and its thrills.

The people are not motivated in the standard movie way, either. Animosity develops between Kruger and Blain. It soon subsides. Then you think they are going to fight over a girl, Girardon. They don't. Besides, she turns out to be quite seriously in love with the comedy relief, Red Buttons. Neither of the men makes a pitch for the ravishing Elsa Martinelli, who plays a woman photographer, and whom Hawks brings on with all the electric impact of the female intruding upon the boys in the back room. But this beauty, unmolested, divides her time between frustrated pursuit of the zoo-crew's Capt. Ahab, John Wayne (among the shifting sands of characterization, the film's one solid rock), and the care and feeding of baby elephants. The Martinelli-Wayne love scenes—she combative, he fatuous—are played in the classic Hawks tradition, for laughs. So is most of the action, but the comedy isn't nailed on for effect: it develops out of the place and the people, and with a natural sweetness that no other American director but Ford would be capable of, and few European directors would be capable of leaving alone.

In addition to the comedy of persons and situations, there is quite a bit of satirical, mildly sadistic fun at the expense of the viewer and his magic reflexes. Even after you've become accustomed to the fact that in

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this wayward safari what looks like a sidetrack is apt to be the main road, you may still think you know a plant when you see one. Hereafter, know a plant from a feint. In a film about hunting in Africa, you might expect the elephant to run amuck, the crocodile to get a toehold, Red Buttons (who is afraid of animals) to fall into the wild boars' pen—none of which you get. You might not expect an auto accident or a rocket launching, but that is what you do get. You might not expect taste, or the taste of reality either, but they are there.

THE unforeseen development of *Hatari!* lends a surprising aspect to its subject, the regular and perilous business of trapping animals. What one grows to like in this film is the people personally involved in the business. Hawks makes of this involvement a dedication so real it isn't discussed, merely enacted; like the unremarkable heroism of the pioneer aviators he immortalized in *Ceiling Zero* and *Only Angels Have Wings*, the devotion of Wayne and his men in *Hatari!* is to an unspoken absolute of professionalism. Discipline, and the automatic acceptance of risk on the job, preclude melodramatics back at the ranch. The lives these people lead aren't "fraught" with danger, but are replenished by its presence in the places where they seek it out. The aura isn't tragic or even romantic: business is business, play is play.

So powerfully and freely does Hawks establish that attitude that, when Bruce Cabot returns to duty very late in the film, we hardly recognize him for the man whose near-fatal wound had set the opening mood. We recognize instead, and without emotion, the consequences of an unprofessional slip.

In an interview published by the Museum of Modern Art in connection with its recent thirty-three-year retrospective of Hawks' films, the director remarks: "I think you get a sigh of relief from an audience when they see a familiar old situation come up and you don't bore them with it—just hit it and go on." That's as a professional would put it.

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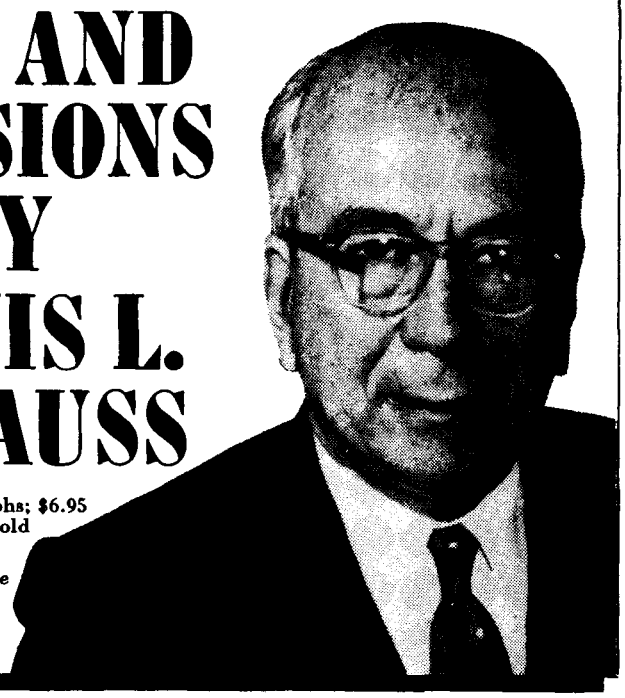

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*William S. Whyte, *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review*

DOUBLEDAY

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE DISPLACED PERSON'S ALMANAC, by John Pairman Brown (Beacon, $3.50). Last year in Lebanon but not in the U.S. a book appeared that Thoreau would have admired and Emerson have praised, a book in the country's oldest tradition: the book of shrewd opinions about everything in the wind. Its young author wrote it in the Middle East while translating anti-Christian documents of the first centuries. The Rev. John Brown's book is indissoluble in critical acid. Its prose is close-grained and intricate. Opinion is threaded into opinion until a fancy knot is elegantly secure for our admiration. There is no unifying subject, unless it be the awareness throughout that any subject nowadays is teased by an unguessable future and that the past breathes more hotly on our napes. John Brown's comments are drier than one has heard in quite a while, but he knows the granite places where one might stand. The church, as is, does not seem to be one of them. Any witty, graceful, acid sentence could be detached from this engaging little book and emblazoned on a poster, though the corridors are limited in which it might hang for long before a committee took it down. Or we took it down ourselves, not wanting to live with that much lucidity.

G. DAVENPORT

THE SWINBURNE LETTERS, Vols. V and VI by Cecil Y. Lang (Yale, $15). Final volumes, with index to the set, of the poet's demands on mother and nurse (Watts-Dunton) and friends and publishers; of his brilliant comments on poets and dramatists; and of his rather tedious efforts at the Sairy Gamp cute and the de Sade decadent. These letters, from the last years, remain those of a child, equipped by some whim of nature with magic antennae for the detection of literary merit. His critical instincts were as true as his other faculties were atrophied, and his assertions could be disastrous. Sample of his comments: Only the English, who know the meaning of the word "home," are able to understand the *Odyssey*.

G. WILLS

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To the Editor

Kennedy Claque

As one of the student employees hired by the government for a summer job in Washington, I read with interest the letter from a gentleman in the Commerce Department in your July 31 issue. The student indoctrination program he mentioned is called the "White House Seminar." Ostensibly, it is to acquaint us students with the workings of government; in actuality, it is designed to stir up support for the so-called New Frontier.

A recent chapter in this serialized comedy featured Larry O'Brien and Sen. Hubert Humphrey, which latter treated us to a tirade of ruthless majoritarianism, boosting Medicare and calling for a purge of the Senate to eliminate the filibuster, that singular device which enables minorities of whatever faction to forestall majority action long enough for all to consider its consequence, including its unconscionability to often very large minorities. Humphrey's comments were greeted with much applause from the assembled neophytes. Some, not so enthusiastic, had their identification cards checked by policemen when they walked out. As it turned out, Humphrey and O'Brien might better have spent their time at Capitol Hill—that afternoon, the Senate scrapped Medicare.

At another meeting, a lady M.C. from the White House finished up the session with an anecdote to show how we could work up the courage to hop on the New Frontier Loco-Motive. There was once a boy, it transpired, who couldn't muster the courage to get over the fence into a neighbor's yard to steal apples. He hit on the scheme of throwing his hat over the fence—that way he'd have to go over to get the hat, and once there would snatch the apples and make his escape. This was like joining the New Frontier, she continued: at first, one had to get the nerve to take the initial leap. As the analogy grew more obscure, some in the audience began to jeer, but unavailingly; taking it as applause, she went on to point out how lucky we all were to have heard the words of the luminaries that had addressed us.

The "White House Seminar" meets in double sessions ten times over the summer, during working hours. My figures indicate the Hot Air will cost the taxpayer about $175,000 in lost working time, since each session takes three hours, including transportation, and the better than 3,000 summer workers get $1.75 to $1.95 per hour.

NATIONAL REVIEW might be interested to know that among the other entertainments available are the Jackie Movies, made at government expense during her recent trip to India and Pakistan. These are being shown during working hours in various departments of the government.

Frankly, the more propagandizing and public exposure of the New Frontier, the better. Look what happened to Milton Berle.

Cambridge, Mass. NAME WITHHELD

Adam Powell (tax-wise)

Nobody need be surprised at the revival of income tax charges against Mr. Powell. The charges were dropped early in 1961 when he announced that he would no longer pursue the "Powell Amendment" to the school aid bill, which would disallow federal funds for segregated schools (and thus obstruct passage). Now, Mr. Powell's recent utterances suggest that he will pursue this again —he even made a speech (and had it printed as a committee document) advocating participation of private schools in federal aid, which is contrary to Kennedy policy and would turn the most avid protagonists of federal school aid into opponents. So the stick must be hauled out again.

Claremont, Cal. ROGER A. FREEMAN

Massachusetts Politics

H. Stuart Hughes may very well draw votes from the Democratic candidate and thus be somewhat indirectly aiding the Republican in the upcoming Massachusetts senatorial race. However, you assume that the candidates will be Kennedy and Lodge. I hope the Massachusetts voters display a little bit more sense than to make these choices. The ideal choices for Senator from this state would be Atty. Gen. McCormack (D.) and Congressman Laurence Curtis (R.). Lodge has little experience and is a Javits

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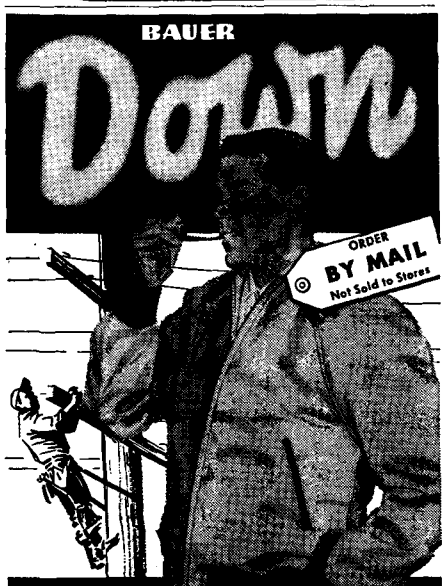

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"Republican." Teddy, like Georgie, has based his candidacy almost entirely on a famous name to carry him along. Curtis has received the backing of the Young Americans for Freedom in Massachusetts as the most experienced (30 yrs.) of all those in the race. The YAFs and YRs are solidly behind Curtis with a tremendous youth organization, 4-1 over the adults. The superior Curtis organization has taken the lead from Lodge and may very well win.

Lexington, Mass. WILLIAM G. NOWLIN JR.

Peruvian Politics

Dr. Burnham's article on Peru (August 14) was excellent. I have only one thought to add: the Peruvian electorate seems to be so evenly divided among the three groups that another election, next year, would undoubtedly produce the same results as this year's poll; could not the problem be resolved by having a run-off election as we do, for example, in Texas? An alternative solution would be to adopt some modification of the solution found by Colombia. If our government wishes to make a contribution of value in this situation, let it work along these lines instead of pushing for the election of a minority candidate, which, as Dr. Burnham suggests, can only lead to chaos.

New York City EDWARD A. MC QUADE

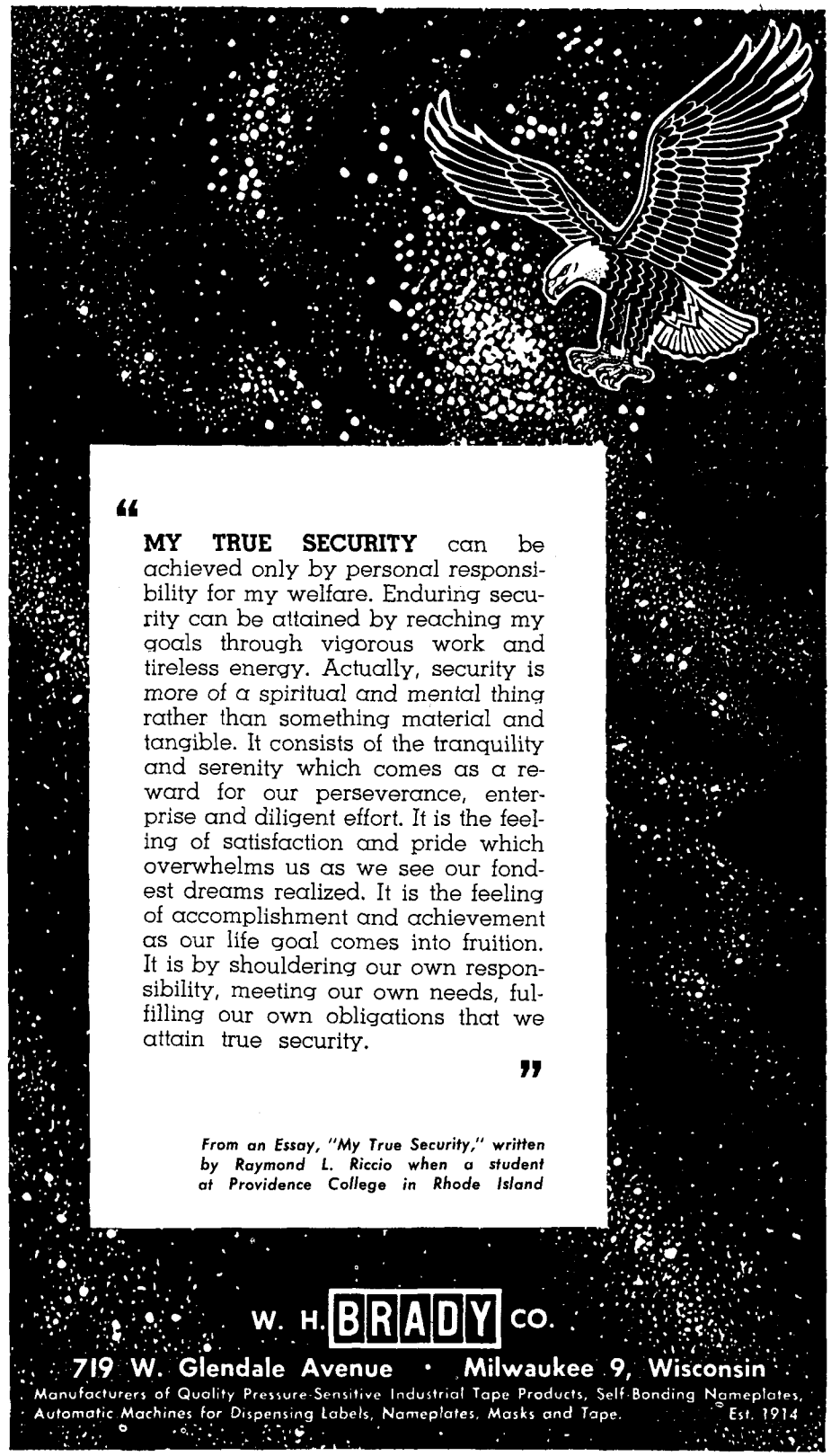
Finnish Politics

Whenever Finland shows any independence from Soviet domination, President Kekkonen is summoned to Moscow to show humility. I wonder why the United States does not come out in favor of Finland's independence. President Kennedy, like Nikita in the case of Cuba, could threaten the Soviet Union with war if it dares invade the small but proud republic of Finland. Without the threat of a Soviet takeover, Finland could evolve into a truly free member of the new Europe. With American and/or NATO backing, Finnish parties would be able to resist Soviet vetoes of popular candidates and the Finnish people would be able to elect whomever they like regardless of Soviet approval or rejection.

Elmhurst, N.Y. CAROLA CARBO

Senegalese Politics

I believe there is an error in your editorial of August 14 entitled "How to Cure the Congo." It was not Guinea



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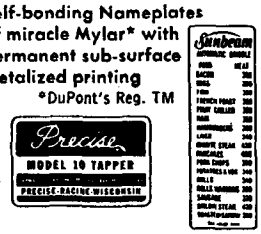

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which separated from Mali but rather Senegal. Senegal and Soudan had combined to form the Mali Federation. After the break-up of the Federation, Soudan became the Republic of Mali. Guinea is closely allied with Mali. Both are members of the anti-Western, pro-Communist Casablanca bloc which also includes Ghana, Morocco, Algeria and the UAR.

Washington, D.C. PHILIP KAY

Arizona Politics

Your Arizona correspondent has not been keeping abreast of the times. Mecham should take the primary election going away from Shadegg, and fight a close battle with Hayden in the fall. In the meantime, if one wished to contribute a few pesos to the Conservative Party in New York, where should one write?

Scottsdale, Ariz. TOM ANDERSON

350 Lexington Ave., N.Y. 16, N.Y.—ED.

Correction

In the August 14 NATIONAL REVIEW there is a statement that there is no complete copy of *Birth of a Nation.* This is untrue. The Silent Movie Theater in Hollywood has the complete version. Address: Silent Movie Theater, 611 North Fairfax, Los Angeles, California. It is several blocks above Farmers' Market and ½ block below Melrose Blvd.

Glendale, Cal. STEPHEN HECKEL

Salud, Pesetas, y NR

We wish to thank you for the notice of the gift subscriptions for NATIONAL REVIEW to be received by this Camp and at the new Peace Corps Training Center at Santa Rosa, Camp Radley. Both the staff and the volunteer trainees have enjoyed receiving NATIONAL REVIEW in the past and we are pleased that we can receive it on a regular basis.

Arecibo, Puerto Rico JOHN J. O'NEILL
Director
Peace Corps, Camp Crozier

Mr. Hoover

NATIONAL REVIEW is to be commended for its fine article regarding former President Herbert Hoover's speech at West Branch, Iowa.

Woodbury, N.J. ARMON W. DIEDRICH JR.

Amicus Curiae

Is Justice Goldberg going to sell all of his stock in the AFL-CIO?

Los Angeles, Cal. WURSTEN EVER

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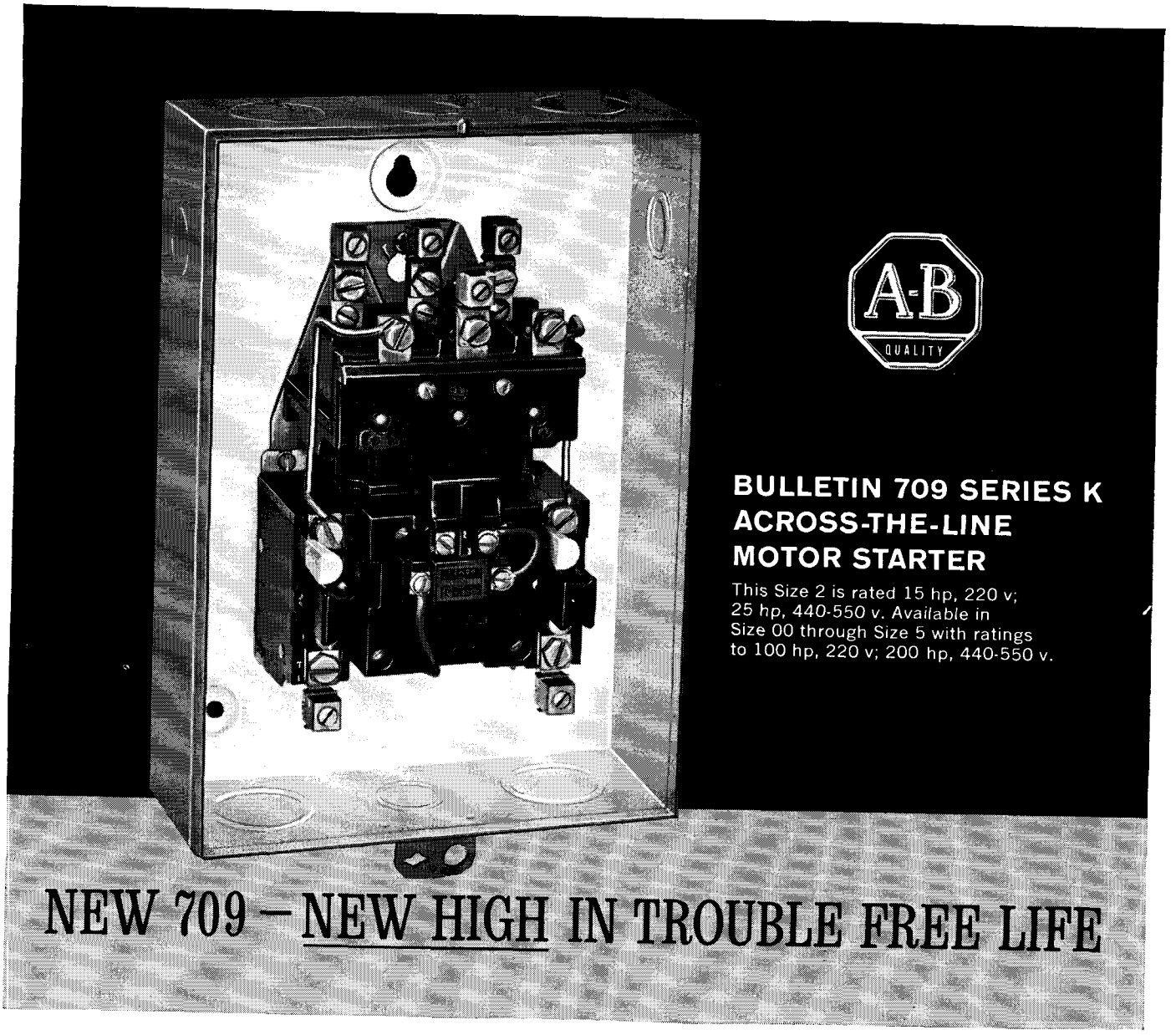

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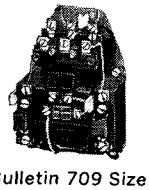

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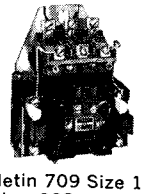

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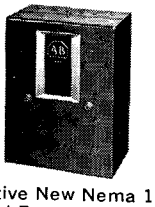

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